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# MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

## BOOK XXVI.

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On the first day of the new year, I went, as usual, to present the king with some gold medals, of which the subject was, the glory he had acquired in reconciling the pope and the Venetians, the Spaniards and the Dutch, and some other princes of Europe. After a few moments of conversation upon indifferent matters, Henry took me aside to a window, to tell me that he desired I would compose for him four statements of accounts, in the manner of several others I had already given him: the first, of the equivalents gathered in the twelve generalities of the kingdom; the second, of all the claims and duties which make part of the royal revenues; the third, of the principal levies of the *taille*, called the

ordinary levies, from the year 1599 to 1609, including these two last years; the fourth, of the levies of the *taille*, called the great increase, or extraordinary increase, during the eleven last years. "I want," said Henry, "to show them to some persons who think they have great skill in the finances, although they know nothing of the matter; and to others, who admire their method, defective as it is."

There was no necessity for this prince to make any excuse to me for this demand; the pleasure it gave me to see him enter with me into all the particularities of the government, left me no inclination to examine into the motive of this attention. I perceived that he had, for some time, made a study of my manner of conducting affairs, as well general as particular; and that by asking me sometimes for a statement, sometimes for a memorial, one day for some instructions, the next for an explanation of them, all these pieces would soon compose a complete system of the finances, and other parts of the state. But I experienced no uneasiness on this account; for whether Henry did this for his own instruction, or that he had a design to form other statesmen upon my maxims, through a fear that I should not always continue faithful to him, or whether he had an intention to employ me in other affairs, either within or without the kingdom, which would not give me leisure for these, the manner in which he behaved to me gave me no reason to imagine that there was anything in this procedure but what was wise, good, and even advantageous for me.*

* If we give credit to the author of "L'Hist. de la Mère et du Fils," we shall find Henry IV. had other motives for this behaviour to the Duke of Sully. "He was," says this author, "far from being pleased with the conduct of M. de Sully, and had a mind to take the management of the finances out of his hands, in order to put them under the direction of Arnaud. He had often told the queen he could no longer bear with his ill-humours. His discontent with the duke was fixed, and he was resolved to strip him of his office; but the time for it was not yet proper," &c. But the rest of this book will furnish us with such strong proofs of the great confidence Henry IV. had in M. de Sully, that we may conclude this author was taken in the trap, which, another writer of those times informs us this prince and his minister frequently laid for those who were too credulous, when, in order to do their business the better, they thought proper to assume all the external appearances of a real misunderstanding, which made the courtiers say of them, "Like master, like man."

When he came to the Arsenal, at the end of the month, I gave him those four statements, which I shall not transcribe here; but only content myself with observing, that the total of the first showed that the equivalents amounted to one hundred and fifty-one thousand and seventy-three livres, a sum greatly inferior to what many persons imagined, who had suggested to the king that he ought to get a sol in the livre by all. In the second, notwithstanding the great application I had given to it, some terms had escaped me which the king could not understand; but I promised him to make it complete within the year. The total of the third was one hundred and seven million four hundred and forty-five thousand three hundred and fifty-three livres, sixteen sols, eleven deniers: that of the fourth, fifty-two million one hundred and forty-four thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine livres, twelve sols, six deniers. Henry only looked at the titles of these papers then, and gave them to La Varenne, with orders to return them to him when he came again to the Louvre, and was in his library with Beringhen. I likewise gave him a list of all the particular accounts, which made part of the general account of the finances, or were inserted in that account.*

As Henry went to Chantilly two days afterwards, I did not suppose he had examined, with any great degree of attention, this long list of accounts, which gave rise to a little debate. One day, when his majesty was discoursing with the chancellor, Villeroy, and me, and when the conversation had turned upon this subject, I happened to say, that, besides those accounts which I left to the care of my secretaries, there were above a hundred which I was obliged to write with my own hand, at the beginning of each year. The king seemed astonished, and Villeroy likewise. "I am persuaded," said Sillery, in his soft, gracious manner, "that there must be a great number; but I cannot conceive how there should be a hundred. I think I have a little knowledge of the matter." "You have done well, sir," replied I, "to say something; but you would have done still better to have said nothing, since you are talking of matters that you can be

* These accounts are set forth at large in the old Memoirs in the third and following volumes.

informed of by nobody but myself." There needed no more to prove which of us was in the right, than just to look into the list I had given the king, wherein those, and only those, were comprehended. Having a copy of it in a bag of papers, which one of my secretaries had brought with him, I ordered him to draw near: Sillery himself read the paper, by which his majesty was convinced I had said no more than the truth.

While the king was at Chantilly, he wrote me the following note, dated Wednesday, March 25:—"My Friend,—I mount my horse, after dinner, to go to Lusarche, where I intend to lie this night. To-morrow I shall come very early to Paris; and, as I intend to dine with you, provide for twelve persons, and let us have some fish. Adieu, my dear friend." He came accordingly, and I gave him a dinner to his taste. After the cloths were taken away, I ordered cards and dice to be brought, and laid a purse of four thousand pistoles upon the table for his majesty, and another, with a like sum, to lend to those lords who accompanied him, and who not expecting to play, might not have money about them. Henry was pleased with this ceremony. "Come hither, master-general," said he to me, "and embrace me; for I love you, and I have reason to do so. I am so agreeably situated here," he added, "that I am resolved to sup and lie here. I have some reasons for not going to the Louvre to-day, which you shall know after we have done play; and, in the mean time, order three coaches to be got ready to carry me an airing, after which you and I will have some discourse together: but do not admit any company while I am here, except those I shall send for. I expect to find no one here at my return." The king having passed the whole day entirely to his satisfaction, he desired that I would give him a dinner the next day likewise. He continued great part of the morning shut up with me in my closet, discoursing upon many things which I am not at liberty to mention. His majesty read the accounts I had given him with great pleasure, and said to me aloud, as he went out of the closet, "You have given me papers with which I am highly pleased; but there are still many particulars which you must explain to me in writing: for I shall not remember all you have said."

All the company gathering about the king, he declared

publicly his design of passing, in the same manner, two or three days each month at the Arsenal. He commanded me to have a hall, a chamber, a wardrobe, and a closet fitted up for him, without encroaching upon any of the apartments of my family, telling me that whenever he came, for the future, he would neither be attended by his own officers, nor bring any of his cooks along with him, but that I should treat him as now; adding, in a most obliging manner, that every way he was of opinion he could not be better than in my hands; but that as it was not just this confidence should bring an increase of expense upon me, he would give me a gratuity of six thousand crowns a year for that purpose only, and this he repeated again at dinner.

Before we sat down to table, the conversation between the fifteen or twenty persons who were in the king's retinue happening to turn upon those great men whose actions are celebrated in history, Henry asked me which of them I most wished he should resemble. It was not easy to answer this question by a single word, and the rather, as Henry added, that I must not only have regard to their conduct and personal merit, but likewise to everything that a man might reasonably wish for; such as the qualities of the body, health, and that concurrence of circumstances by which a man is pronounced happy. To decide this question it was necessary to examine and compare those heroes one with another; and, to say the truth, I was not sorry that such an opportunity offered to cover with shame several persons in the company, for their absolute ignorance of things which every man of birth and figure should have at least some slight knowledge of. The king comprehended my design by the turn of my compliment to him in my first reply to his question. "I find," said he, "that you are not going to appear a man of few words; but I am resolved to hear all you have to say, which will be fully as pleasing, and more advantageous to me than if I had gone, as I intended, to see them play at mall till your dinner was ready."

Accordingly I began to give an exact representation of all those whom antiquity styles illustrious men, among whom I did not forget such of our monarchs as had been dignified with that title, as Clovis, Charlemagne, Hugh Capet, Philip Augustus, Saint Louis, Charles V., Charles VII., and

Louis XII. The quality of enemies of France did not seem to me a sufficient reason for excluding the great names of Edward III. and Charles V. I named none without making their characters known to the company, at least in general, by traits, which, though slight, for the sake of brevity, yet displayed their good and bad qualities, and the happy or unfortunate events of their reigns. "It is now your part, Sire," said I (after I had finished this enumeration, which had obliged me to continue speaking a long time), "to declare which of these great kings you would choose to resemble, and to examine whether you would not lose by the comparison; you who in many things have certainly surpassed them all." "Before I decide this point," replied his majesty, "it is necessary I should consider more attentively what you have said, as well good as ill, concerning each of these princes; but your dinner, which is served" (for indeed we were informed that it was time to place ourselves at table), "will not afford us leisure for it now, therefore we must defer it till another time. However, I desire you will reduce your discourse to writing: after which I will tell you what I think of it, as well as of your last words, which you only added," said this prince, with a gracious air, "to make your repast more agreeable."

While we were at table, some of the company, to show their reading, renewed the subject we had just been treating, and mentioned several circumstances in history with great ostentation; but, at the same time, confounded persons and things in so ridiculous a manner that the king could not help laughing at them, while he made me a compliment upon the strength of my memory. I suffered the king to entertain this advantageous opinion of me till we rose from table, when I told him, in private, the fortunate accident to which it was owing; for I happened, three days before, to meet with an extract of the lives of illustrious men, which I had made during the time that I employed myself in the study of history, and that very day had made it the subject of conversation with some of my friends, which had recalled all my former ideas, and furnished me with those circumstances I had related. This learned scene was succeeded by cards, dice, and pistoles. I went in the mean time into the hall, where I spared his majesty the fatigue of giving audience, he being

employed more to his taste, for that afternoon he gained two thousand five hundred pistoles, and came out in very good humour to take an airing in the coaches I had ordered to be prepared for him, as he had done the evening before, after which he returned to the Louvre.

Five or six days after I had the honour to entertain and lodge the king at the Arsenal, he was informed that some reports were spread in several provinces relating to things which he imagined were only known to himself and me; for indeed he had imparted them to me with the utmost secrecy For some days he suspected that I had been indiscreet in divulging these secrets, while I, though he often asked me who were those intimate friends I had in Bourbonnais and Berry, had not the least doubt of his suspicion. At length he called me to him one day. "Come hither, master-general," said he to me, "and answer truly to the questions I am going to ask you." I promised faithfully to do so, but with this condition, that if his questions related to anything wherein by answering I might displease him, that he should com mand me absolutely to speak my sentiments freely, and promise not to be offended if I obeyed him. He replied that his questions were not of that nature; and then opening his whole heart to me, I justified myself by oaths, which perfectly convincing him of my innocence, his vexation was succeeded by a surprise, which I felt in no less a degree than himself.

However, it was not long before I unravelled this mystery. A letter, written by Father Cotton to Father Ignatius, a Jesuit at Moulins, was brought to me in a packet that came from Bourges, and laid open the whole affair. With this letter, which filled me with a real joy, I went to wait upon the king, who was arrived at the Louvre with the queen, whom he had gone to meet as far as Anet. After some conversation upon Anet and Chantilly, I said to him, "Sire, the other day you ordered me to swear that I would tell you the truth; do not be offended if I entreat you, in my turn, to tell me whether you have never mentioned, to any other than me, those things you accuse me of having revealed: if you have not, certainly there are some persons about you who have a familiar spirit, and can dive into the most secret thoughts." The king smiled, and lightly tapped my cheek; then em-

bracing me, "I am too desirous that you should be always sincere with me," said he, "to give you an example of insincerity. I confess, then, that I have mentioned those affairs both to Father Cotton and Beringhen; but I can answer for the last, that he has never revealed them." "Neither is it he, but the Jesuit," said I; "and this letter," giving it into his hands, "will prove it." His majesty read it: here follows a transcription of it.

"Rev. Father,—Pax Christi. I never wrote so seldom before, nor desired to write so often. Your reverence may, if you please, lay the fault upon my business, particularly at this time. M. de Citeaux will be satisfied with an abbey near his own, which is, at present, in the hands of a canon of the holy chapel, seventy years old; and, in return for the said abbey, will procure to be granted by a general chapter, which will be held after Whitsuntide, whatever we desire of Bellebranche. There is a disturbance at Orleans about the business of the college by some secret practices; but God will direct all. The king has written to the mayor and aldermen, to Monsieur d'Orleans, the lieutenant-general, the prevôt, to his attorney, and to De la Châtre. I join my letters to D'Escures', who sets out to-morrow, and promises to bring everything to a conclusion. The king has also given thirty thousand livres to La Flèche, upon the advice which I communicated to your reverence. His majesty goes to Chantilly on Tuesday, and the queen, four days afterwards, to Chartres; her majesty will go and meet him at Anet, and then come here, and to Fontainebleau. That passion you know of still continues; notwithstanding which, the marriages of the Prince and of the Duke of Vendôme will be celebrated after Easter. All is again upon a good footing with the man at the Arsenal, whatever endeavours have been used to prevent it. The eldest son of Monsieur de Créquy is to have the young De Verneuil; and the treaty of marriage between the Marquis de Rosny and the eldest daughter of that nobleman still goes forward: for the father will not hear of breaking it off. Des Yvetaux is employed in the affair. The Sieur Collin has demanded permission to stay in the college of Mont till the middle of August; but M. Savary will not agree to his staying longer than Easter. The edict

against duels is loudly called for. The preachers have done their duty concerning it; but Father Gontery disgusts the king from time to time, though I am endeavouring to ward off the blow. He says that his sermons are seditious, and that they will one day give rise to a schism in our religion, or in the Church. M. Bremont is resolved to enter into our society. You will see his laudable inclination by the enclosed letter, with one from the Reverend Father de la Tour, which I found upon my table without knowing how it came there. M. de Bourges told me this day, that Father Sallian is very well satisfied, and has lost nothing by his change. It is given out, that Father Changer has changed: a thing that has been long dreaded. I am reconciled to the Count of Soissons, and upon better terms with him than ever; but I have had neither victuals nor money since January. The queen took me with her to Chartres, and places greater confidence in me than usual. M. de la Varenne says, that he is very willing to serve your brother; but not in the way you propose: for it is impossible to introduce the use of keeping horses for hire, without hurting the relays and posts; but he offers to do anything else for him that is in his power. The Reverend Father Raimond has been here, and has brought the sum of four hundred livres for alms, without the materials of Talan for some part of them, which M. le Grande promised him. Our brother Paran is now discharged from the exercise of this office; for I have an answer from Rome, by which I have been informed, that the union has been approved by our holy father the pope, and the alms given by his holiness solely upon my account, *quasi fuit ejus benevolentiæ*. I have delayed revising and printing my book till the summer, or till after autumn. The truce, for nine years, in Flanders is almost determined. Ten of our fathers have been taken coming from the Balearic Islands to Spain, by Simon Dansa, a Dutch corsair, who has a wife at Marseilles. The king is endeavouring to procure their freedom. Notwithstanding some little sallies of ill-humour, he favours and loves the society. *Quod superest*, I am in great need of spiritual succours; *oraque pro paupere*, who is your reverence's most affectionate

"And most humble servant,

"Paris, March 18, 1609. "PETER COTTON.

"P.S. The Marchioness de Mesnelay is resolved to take the veil, notwithstanding all the entreaties of her friends to the contrary. M. Avias, rector of the chief church, lies at the point of death: his distemper is a spotted fever: he is a good priest, a faithful friend, and is going to his God."

Henry read this letter twice, from beginning to end; and although he concealed from me great part of his thoughts, yet I read in his countenance the uneasiness it gave him. "I must confess," said he to me, "that there is more prudence and fidelity in your actions, and more truth and sincerity in your words, obstinate Huguenot as you are, than in many Catholics, and even ecclesiastics, who make profession of great piety and regularity of conduct. Upon the approach of the Count of Soissons, he left me to go to this prince, to whom I believe he related all, and even showed him the letter, in which he had a place as well as others. I was extremely glad that I had kept a copy of this letter; for his majesty would never return me the original.

Father Cotton was very uneasy at the accident which had happened to his letter; but he comforted himself a little, when he was told, that I had neither shown it, nor mentioned the contents to any one but the king. He thought he owed me some acknowledgment for this moderation; and likewise, that some trifling justification was necessary. A letter I received from him, on his return from a journey he had taken into one of the provinces, was calculated to serve both these purposes. His letter was dated from Fontainebleau, where the court then was, and sent to me at Paris. He took occasion to praise the goodness of my heart, and the sweetness of my temper; since all the endeavours that had been used to give me a bad impression of him, had not, he said, been able to make any alteration in my kindness towards him. He acknowledged, that a man, less generous than myself, would have made this letter a pretence for preserving some resentment against him. He did not say why; for, doubtless, in his opinion, the terms in which he had expressed himself concerning me were not a sufficient cause for the anger of a generous man: nor, indeed, would I allow myself to be offended by them. Father Cotton must certainly understand his own meaning better than any other person:

and if he was conscious of having intended any injury to *the man at the Arsenal*, he would not have had the confidence to entreat him, as he did, in this letter, to remember the building of the Jesuits' church and the apartments destined for their classes at Poictiers, by verifying the accounts in which such expenses as these were comprehended. Here he again introduced an eulogium upon my charity, followed by an ardent prayer, that God would finish his work by inspiring me with right sentiments of the good religion.*

Not long after this affair, I plainly perceived that some new and more considerable cause of uneasiness had been given to the king; for all his endeavours to dissipate his disquiet served only to discover, and probably to increase it. He stayed eight whole days out of Paris, indulging his melancholy, in places where it could not be observed, as at Livry, and another house belonging to Montbazon. When he returned, he passed most of his days in hunting, doubtless that he might be longer and more frequently alone. This, however, was not the true remedy for his disease. He came at length to the Arsenal, to seek some comfort in disclosing his

* From what follows, as extracted out of the History of France, it will appear that M. de Sully did not so readily forgive Father Cotton: "Towards the end of this year, the Jesuits, having obtained a gift from the king of a hundred thousand francs to finish the building of their chapel at La Flèche, came to M. de Sully for payment of it. Father Cotton told him, with his usual smoothness, that his majesty had made the society a small present of a hundred thousand livres for the chapel of La Flèche. 'How,' says the Duke of Sully, 'do you call a hundred thousand livres a small present for you? The king gives you too much; but you will get nothing of me.' Father Cotton desired to know the reason of this refusal. 'I do not think myself obliged,' answered the duke, 'nor will I give any to you; but I shall give my reasons for it to the king.' Father Cotton complained of this to the king, who, to satisfy him, publicly chid the duke for it, and told him he would have his commands obeyed. M. de Sully, nevertheless, did not do what the king had ordered, in regard to the Jesuits' chapel at La Flèche." The same author observes, in another place, that it was very well known at that time, that when the king and his minister thus appeared of opposite sentiments in public, it had often been privately concerted between them. What gives one reason to believe this had been the case on the present occasion is, "that his majesty," as this writer adds, "at this very time gave the duke thirty thousand crowns for a new-year's gift, instead of twenty thousand, which he used to give him before; with which the Jesuits were but ill satisfied." (Anno 1609.)

thoughts to me. He came up directly to my closet, without permitting any one to inform me of his arrival, and tapped at my door himself. I opened it, expecting nothing less than such a visit, and was yet in my morning dress, with my night-gown and cap on. He bid me good morning, asked me what I was doing; then, ordering all that were present to withdraw, he came into the closet with me and shut the door; while I, with fixed attention, beheld his unquiet motions, now seating himself, now rising, and walking hastily about the room, all signs of the agitation of his mind, as well as the vivacity with which he talked for more than two hours that we continued alone. I shall have no reason for disguising the subject of this agitation, or concealing our discourse; which might, likewise, be easily overheard by those without. His majesty thought they had all left the little hall, and were gone to walk either in the great one, the courts, or the gardens; but some of them stayed at the door of the closet, excited by their curiosity to listen; for the melancholy of this prince had been observed by every one. Those, therefore, who stood at the door, might hear almost every word that passed.

At first, the king talked only of news relating to the emperor, some princes of Germany, the archdukes, and the President Richardot; after which, confessing that there was something else which lay nearer to his heart, he began a long discourse, during which I did hardly anything else but listen to him. As his majesty believed that I, as well as the whole court, supposed the new quarrels between him and the queen were occasioned by the passion it was publicly said he had conceived for Mademoiselle de Montmorency, a few days since married to the Prince of Condé, it was with this article he began, which had always given me infinite uneasiness.

When I first perceived this growing inclination in Henry, I foresaw much greater inconveniences from it than from any of his former attachments, on account of the birth and relations of the young lady, and I used my utmost endeavours to prevent the progress of it; endeavours which, though absolutely fruitless, I renewed again, when the king proposed to me his design of marrying her to the prince; for I had no reason to expect that Henry upon this occasion would exert

that generous self-denial which some lovers have shown themselves capable of, when they have taken this method to impose upon themselves the necessity of renouncing the object of their passion. Indeed, it was the very contrary which I apprehended; and this belief offering nothing to my view but deep resentment, rage, and exclamation from the injured prince, the relations of the princess, and the queen; I therefore neglected nothing which I thought could dissuade him from taking this resolution. I entreated, I remonstrated, I threw myself at the feet of Henry; I not only importuned, I fatigued, I persecuted him; but all in vain: the fatal marriage was resolved on.*

These circumstances the king himself recalled to my remembrance, to convince me, he said, that, although I had foretold pretty justly the effects which love and jealousy might produce, yet I had not foreseen all that the malignity of his enemies was capable of suggesting to increase those fatal effects. This prince, part of whose character it was to pay an inviolable regard to truth, though he exposed his own failings by it, would not pretend to deny that there was some foundation for the public opinion and discourse. And, indeed, the passionate manner in which he talked of the high birth, the wit, and beauty of Mademoiselle de Montmorency, was sufficient to betray his sentiments; but it was not to those mean and insolent Italians, such as Conchini, Vinti, Guidi, Joannini, that he was accountable for his actions, who justly deserved to be punished for daring to exaggerate what little faults there might be in his conduct, in order to enrage the queen, and force her to take violent resolutions, which might give some colour for their pernicious designs. It was these designs, which Henry was informed of from all parts, which filled him with apprehensions and disquiet, and hardly left him one moment of tranquillity. He had mentioned something of them in his letters to me, while he had yet only mere suspicions of their tendency; but these suspicions were changed into an absolute certainty by the letters that La Varenne and Zamet had communicated to him;

* It was celebrated at Chantilly without any pomp. The Marchioness de Verneuil said, "The king had made this match to sink the heart of the Prince of Condé, and to raise his head." (Mem. Hist. de France, anno 1609.)

by what he had been told by the younger Zamet on his return from Italy and Spain; and, lastly, by the informations he had received from Vaucelas, his ambassador at Madrid. We shall soon see that my brother-in-law was not a suspected witness.

His instructions,* when he was sent ambassador to Spain, were such as rather showed an intention to keep open the difference between France and the house of Austria, than to come to an accommodation with it. He was a witness of the intrigues that the queen's agents carried on at Madrid, which they did in a manner so public and unrestrained, that he could not imagine it was unknown to the king, or even without his orders that they acted. These proceedings at first surprised, and afterwards mortified him to the last degree; for believing that the council of France had absolutely changed its system, without acquainting him with the new resolutions they had taken, it must necessarily be that his majesty had withdrawn from him his usual confidence, leaving him only the empty title of ambassador, while he entrusted to some other persons his important secrets, and the management of his most essential affairs. Full of this thought, he supposed, that if the king seemed in appearance not to have changed his opinion of him, or altered his behaviour, it was through his respect and regard for me, that he might spare me the uneasiness of knowing he despised my brother-in-law, who would not have failed to express his uneasiness to me, if he had not endeavoured to free him from such an opinion.

Possessed with this belief, Vaucelas determined to insinuate in two words to La Varenne, and through him to the king, that he had reason to fear he had lost his majesty's favour; but in his letter to his brother-in-law, which was much longer, he opened his heart freely, and entreated him to discover the cause of his disgrace, and to represent to his majesty, but with all possible respect, that it was unjust, and in some degree injurious to his ambassador, to employ one of a foreign prince preferably to him: it was the ambassador from the Duke of Florence whom he meant; and, indeed, he

* The titles given in these instructions to the Count de Vaucelas, are, councillor of state, &c., camp-master of the regiment and companies of infantry of Piedmont. (Vol. 8955, MSS. Royaux.)

treated about these affairs at Madrid either without the knowledge, or with the consent, of the Spanish council with so much authority, that it is not surprising Vaucelas should be deceived. He, therefore, entreated his majesty, by his brother-in-law, to restore him to his good opinion and confidence; and to believe that no consideration of friendship or alliance should ever prevail upon him to disclose the secrets of his master to me, which was what I had myself recommended him to observe with inviolable fidelity.

This letter gave the king a clear knowledge of those things of which he had hitherto had but confused notions, and doubtful conjectures. His surprise was extreme; and, indeed, who could have imagined that one-half of the council and court should dare openly to cross designs which the king had avowed, without being apprehensive either of his resentment, or the infamy which on any other occasion must have attended such proceedings? Certainly this was a circumstance very uncommon in politics, and very different from all its maxims. They formed a party by methods which, in any other case, tended to destroy it; to obtain their end, they pretended they had already obtained it; and secrecy was what they had least concern about; this, however, is to be understood only of their behaviour and the appearances they gave to things, and not of their designs and the real methods they took to carry them on; for after the king had returned Vaucelas such an answer as was proper to remove his suspicions, he could not with all his industry discover the bottom of this mystery, nor many particular circumstances which he endeavoured to find out. All he knew was, that by these intrigues it was designed to blast his majesty's designs against the house of Austria, by bringing him either willingly or by force into a union with Spain; that the Florentine ambassador corresponded with certain persons of the queen's household, whom he named, upon this subject; and with others of higher rank, whom his respect forbade him to mention; the rest he was wholly ignorant of.

Part of these curious circumstances which Henry now told me I knew not before; this prince added, that he did not doubt but those persons whom his ambassador would not name, were the queen and Villeroy. All the conversation they had with him tended only to this end; and the last

advices he had received relative to the double marriages could have their rise only from them, since the persons employed in negotiating these alliances had, it was said, gone so far with the council of Madrid as to declare that they had the means in their power of obliging the king to consent to them, even with the clause that Spain, by giving the infanta to the dauphin, should reserve to itself all the rights that this marriage might afterwards invest her with.* This it was that astonished and even terrified Henry. He might have been able to find a meaning in such strong and positive affirmations, if his designs against the house of Austria had been as little known and as undetermined as they were three or four years ago; but that they should talk in this manner in a court where they could not be ignorant that he had already taken a quite contrary resolution, and that nothing would ever make him alter it while he lived,—this it was that gave him, in spite of himself, the most dreadful apprehensions.

It is certain that all Europe knew he was endeavouring to ally himself to the Duke of Savoy, by marrying the dauphin to the heiress of Lorraine, that he might one day unite this State with France; and that it was partly to support this claim that he attached to his interest, by so many acts of kindness and munificence, the German princes, who could assist him in this enterprise against all those who might attempt to thwart it. It was known, likewise, that he intended to marry his second son to Mademoiselle de Montpensier,† and that they were already contracted; to give his eldest daughter to the Prince of Wales, whom, upon my report, he preferred to all the princes of Europe; and, lastly, to bring about a marriage between his third son and the Princess of Mantua, granddaughter to the Duke of Savoy, to

* One is surprised, after this, to find Siri (Mem. Recond. vol. i. p. 187) advance, that Henry IV. wished for nothing so much as the marriage of the dauphin with the Infanta of Spain. Nothing further is necessary to prove this stranger took his information of the transactions of the Council of France, at that time, from hearsay only. I also think him still more blamable for that partiality he discovers, almost everywhere, against the person and politics of this prince.

† Mary of Bourbon, daughter and sole heiress of Henry, Duke of Montpensier, who died the year before.

give him a reason or pretence for a footing in Italy. I believe it will be easily granted that his majesty, by possessing Mantua and Montferrat, with a free entrance into these two little States, and by being assured of the Duke of Savoy, lately become possessor of the Milanese, and having a firm dependance upon the Venetians, our inseparable allies, nothing could have hindered him from giving law to all Italy, without, as this prince said, incurring the guilt of detaining unjustly the possessions of another.

Henry took so much pleasure in talking at length of his political schemes that he forgot he was speaking to a man who knew them all as well as himself: but he returned again to the Spanish cabal, and to his own apprehensions which arose from their acting as if they were assured he had but a very short time to live. Whatever might be the foundation of this suspicion, it was strengthened and increased when he reflected that innumerable prognostics were everywhere spread amongst the people, which fixed his death in the fifty-eighth year of his age, a prediction which was given out to be a Divine inspiration, because it was zealously supported by a certain nun, then in great veneration. Pasithea, for that was the name of this devotee, had been some time in France: and, when she left it, continued to correspond by letter with the queen. And it was this nun whom the faction made use of to persuade that princess to be crowned with all the magnificence and all the ceremonies necessary to preserve to her the authority which, they said, she would have occasion for after the death of the king, which was not far off. They likewise talked publicly of bringing back this enthusiast.

This design and these discourses and presages were continually in Henry's thoughts, kept his fears and suspicions always awake, and filled him with melancholy and dismay. "I do not desire this," said he to me, speaking of the coronation—and here I shall relate his own words, which are but too remarkable;—"neither," continued he, "can I endure that this Pasithea should return again to France. My heart tells me that some disaster will happen to me, or that the government will be thrown into disorder, if my wife obstinately insists upon her coronation, which, I am told, the Conchinis advise her to, and likewise continue her design of

bringing back Pasithea. It is certain we shall quarrel on both these accounts; and if I discover more concerning her designs in Spain, I shall be provoked to the last degree against her." I know not whether this prince was mistaken in his opinion of the queen his wife, but I confess I was struck with the reflection he afterwards made, that this princess did not proceed to such extremities with him on account of Mademoiselle de Montmorency, and other ladies whom he had been fond of, from any motive of jealousy, but because her wicked counsellors persuaded her that she had occasion for a pretence for being upon ill terms with the king, or, at least, to appear so: and gave the public this excuse for want of a better: in short, that myself and every one else had attributed to jealousy what was, in reality, the effect of a most refined malice. I make here very shocking discoveries, if it be true that the queen's confidants made use of this damnable artifice to conceal and carry on designs too black and horrible to name.

But to convince me that I had no reason to doubt it, Henry reminded me that upon so slight a foundation as that of speaking oftener than usual to the Duchess of Nevers, and seeming pleased with her conversation, that lady was ranked among the number of his mistresses the preceding year, and Mademoiselle de Montmorency in this, that the opinion of the court and the public concerning his estrangement from the queen might be still kept up, which it was necessary to do at any price whatever: and from thence he concluded that all his endeavours to put a stop to these reports would be fruitless; and that if he should even resolve to see the Princess of Condé no more, yet that would not silence the malicious reports of people who had such strong reasons for preventing all accommodation between him and his wife. He declared that he would never attempt to obtain any favours of the Princess of Condé to the prejudice of her honour; that, if he could not subdue his passion, he would at least restrain its effects, and respect the sacred tie, which he had only formed to impose silence on his own wishes. He said this* with great seeming sincerity, and I should ab-

* The Marshal de Bassompierre, to whom Mademoiselle de Montmorency was offered in marriage, amongst other discourses on this sub-

solutely have relied upon this assurance if I had not known how easy it was for a heart tender and passionate as his to be deceived by itself.

The king continued still to talk of the queen's counsellors, and, among others, of Conchini and his wife. He told me several circumstances concerning these foreigners, after which I could no longer look upon them but as monsters: he said that they hindered the queen from eating of anything that he sent her, and persuaded her to make a kitchen of their apartment. But why did his majesty inveigh thus alternately against these Italians and the queen, and do no more? I agreed with him that the former deserved the severest punishments that could be inflicted; and that it was, indeed, very surprising that this princess should make friends and confidants only of those persons who, at the time of the Third Party, had given the most violent counsels against his life; or with others who were now not less his enemies. But what was I able to do for his deliverance when he would not assist my endeavours? Would any one imagine that this long discourse, which I am persuaded every reader must feel himself interested in, should end only in repeated entreaties to be attentive to the arts of the Spaniards, and to undertake again to persuade the queen that she ought to sacrifice the Conchinis and all the rest who disturbed their peace, to the assurance he gave her by me, that, if she required it, he would never more visit any woman, married or unmarried? "For it is not just," said this too good and

ject, relates the following from Henry IV. to him: "He answered me, with a deep sigh, Bassompierre, I will speak to thee as a friend. I am not only in love, but madly, desperately, in love with Mademoiselle de Montmorency. If thou shouldst marry her, I should hate thee: should she love me, thou wouldst hate me. It will be best to prevent the possibility of this becoming the cause of a breach of our friendship; for I love thee with great affection and by inclination. I am resolved to marry her to my nephew, the Prince of Condé, and to have her in my family; she shall be the comfort and entertainment of my old age, which is coming on. I will give my nephew, who loves hunting a thousand times better than he loves the ladies, a hundred thousand livres a year to amuse himself with. I shall desire no other favour of her but her affection, without pretending to anything further." (Vol. i. p. 229.) But in the end, this passion, as M. de Sully had foreseen, hurried Henry far beyond the bounds he had prescribed himself.

too gentle prince, "that I should deprive myself of all my pleasures to satisfy her, unless she will do the same for me; or that I should consent to all her desires while she continues to oppose all mine."

He permitted me to communicate to Sillery what I thought proper of this conversation, but not to Villeroy. "I will go to dinner," said he, for, indeed, it was very late, "and leave you at liberty to reflect on all I have said to you. I rose this morning by break of day, for I did not sleep all night, my mind was so much disturbed with these thoughts; nor should I have had better rest this night than the preceding if I had not disclosed them all to you." His majesty then got into my coach, which I had ordered to be made ready for him, saying to me in the presence of a great number of persons who were in the court, "Farewell, my friend, I love you most affectionately; continue to serve me always thus, and remember all the conversations we have had together; for you are as dear to me as you can or ought to desire."

I believe I have formerly justified, by the most solid reasons, my perseverance in the opinion that all these plots, half foreign, half domestic, against his majesty's life were neither real nor greatly to be feared. I confess, however, that there were some moments wherein the force of my attachment to my prince would not permit me to hear with indifference all that was reported on this subject, nor could all my firmness hinder me from being terrified at what I knew to be a mere phantom. My mind was in this state all the time that Henry continued speaking to me and after he had left me. It was not a little remarkable that during the whole time Henry stayed with me, I listened to him with a profound silence, not uttering one word in answer to what he said. When I sat down to dinner the agitation of my heart and the dark suspense which clouded my mind threw me into a dejection and faintness which gave me a disgust to everything that was placed before me. Certainly there was no necessity for Henry's desiring me to make reflections on what he had said to me: I gave myself up entirely to them. I carried my views as far as I was able, that I might foresee every possible danger, and trace the remotest cause for suspicion.

When, however, this first tumult of my thoughts subsided,

and more calm and settled considerations had taken the place of those confused ideas which perplexed my mind, I was obliged to conclude, as I had always done, that it was Henry's apprehensions which had given rise to mine, and that his had no certain foundation. The council of Madrid, seeing that the king began to advance in years, and had already felt the attacks of some dangerous distempers, were willing to begin, in time, to make the queen and the French council relish a piece of policy to which they might owe their security. The Spaniards found persons among the French who were strongly inclined to enter into their measures, and they made use of them to carry them on, that they might spare themselves the shame of making demands which were likely to be refused. If this was really the case, the Spanish council might reasonably be supposed to feign the contrary for a long time, and destroy or abate the ardour of the allies of France, deceived by this appearance. There was nothing in this conjecture which did not agree with the character of the Spanish nation, established by an infinite number of the like proceedings. When Philip II. urged the Duke of Alençon to engage in the enterprise against Antwerp—an enterprise which ruined his affairs and blasted his reputation—this was all that he secretly promised himself by it, while, in appearance, he seemed to look upon it as a necessary stroke, to secure to that prince the sovereignty of the Low Countries, which was the bait he threw out for him. But is this a sufficient foundation for saying that Spain was endeavouring to become mistress of the king's life? How many motives rendered the person and interests of this prince dear to the French nation, and even to those very courtiers whom, as it should seem, the Spaniards had engaged in their party! But to what excesses may not the human heart be carried when impelled by a violent passion! I am seized with horror at the very idea of actions, which these apprehensions must suppose persons to be guilty of, whose birth, education, and sentiments restrain them from atrocious crimes and black attempts although they leave them capable of some transient weaknesses. Ought I to account for my thinking and speaking thus, from the respect I owe to certain persons, the delicacy of my sentiments, or merely from the rectitude of my own heart and the detestation I feel for wickedness?

However this may be, it is certain that, after all these reflections, I found my mind in the same calm situation it was before the king spoke to me; and if that gentleness of disposition, which he was too well known to possess, gave me, from time to time, reason to be apprehensive that licentiousness would gain ground through a hope of passing unpunished, yet I did not fear any of those dreadful blows* which bring with them a sudden consternation.

With regard to the other part of his majesty's discourse, it would have been more proper for this prince to have put an end, at once, to all reproaches from the queen, by beginning immediately to disengage himself from those attachments, which were but little suitable to his years; or, at least, in these sallies, to preserve his reason so far unclouded, as to avoid any attachment which might raise an amour into an affair of policy. Those gallantries which Henry had been engaged in, were always destructive either to his glory or his interest, and certainly to his quiet. However, in the Princess of Condé love laid the most dangerous snare for him it

* It is manifest, from reading the Memoirs of that time, that the small number of Henry IV.'s servants, who had an unfeigned affection for him, did not make use of all the precautions they might to guard against the unfortunate accident that happened to him. Perhaps no solid answer can be given to those who may call this sentiment a judgment after the fact; and it must also be allowed, that if all the dark and secret plots, mentioned in an infinite number of places in these Memoirs, though nothing clear and positive touching them was ever discovered, were real, as the event seems to have proved, they could not fail of producing their effect, from the aversion this prince was known to have to severity and revenge. Those who from such examples draw arguments to turn the minds of sovereigns to despotism and cruelty, merit the utmost degree of hatred from mankind. The manner in which the Duke of Sully here lays open the bottom of his thoughts and opinions of those plots absolutely destroys a doubt expressed by some, who seriously considered the transactions of those times, viz., that the duke was perfectly informed of whatever was intended against the person of Henry IV., but that having used his utmost endeavours to prevail on that prince to exert his authority to frustrate such designs, and finding that all the advice he had given Henry thereon, through his weakness, was always rejected, he was inwardly convinced this unhappy king could not avoid his cruel destiny; therefore, he determined not to increase his apprehensions without cause, but only to prevail on him, as soon as possible, to leave a city where he was exposed to such imminent dangers.

had ever done: all the consequences were justly and greatly to be feared.

From these reflections it may be conceived what answer I made to the king, when, according to his orders, I waited on him five or six days afterwards. He had left his chamber, and was gone through the great gallery to walk in the Tuileries. We walked together, in the first gallery, for more than an hour. I removed his apprehensions, and restored him to his former tranquillity. He took a resolution to redouble his efforts to banish, if possible, from his council and court all this Spanish policy: and promised to educate his children, and the young prince, who was heir to his crown, in his own maxims. To bind the Protestants to their king and their country, by the closest ties; and endeavour, with equal solicitude, to banish all foreigners from any participation in affairs of state,—these were, in his opinion, the two principal maxims to be pursued, and the most likely to secure the public tranquillity against the rise of all domestic troubles.

The natural inference from all this was, that Henry should make immediate preparations for the execution of his great designs; since to defer them to an impotent old age would be to hazard their success: and accordingly, from this moment, his application to everything which might contribute to them increased every day. He now came oftener than ever to the Arsenal, and I was almost every morning and evening with him at the Louvre, where my coach was allowed to drive into the court. The king granted this privilege, which only two other dukes enjoyed besides myself, in consideration of my indisposition, which rendered walking on the stones very troublesome to me: he having almost always occasion for me to be with him; and, I believe, his friendship for me was another motive equally strong.

He went on to make me draw up views and memorials, to form a complete cabinet of policy, and of the management of the finances; and that nothing might be wanting to the completion of his scheme, which he now laid fully before me, he ordered that I should have a great desk, or cabinet, contrived, full of drawers and holes, each with a lock and key, and all lined with crimson satin, in such number as to contain, in a regular disposition, all the pieces that were to be

there deposited. The labour of this design was immense, though it does not appear such at the first glance.

To give a notion of it without repetition, the reader must figure to himself all that has any relation, either near or distant, to the revenue, to war, to the artillery, to naval power, to commerce, to policy, to money, to mines; in short, to all parts of the government, either within the kingdom or without it, whether ecclesiastical or civil, whether foreign or domestic. Every one of these parts had its distinct allotment in this cabinet of state, which was to be set in the great closet of books in the Louvre, furnished with all possible conveniences, that all the pieces under each of these heads, how numerous soever they might be, should appear at a single glance. On the side appointed for the finances was a collection of different regulations, memorials of operations, accounts of changes made or to be made, of sums to be received and paid: a quantity, almost innumerable, of views, memoirs, of abstracts and summaries, more or less compendious. All this is more easily imagined than represented. All the letters of any consequence, which his majesty had written to me, were there filed and numbered, with an index pointing out the contents of each.

As to military matters, besides the accounts, lists, and memoirs, which were to show the present state of the forces, there were all the regulations and papers of state, books treating of the arrangement of armies, plans, charts, geographical and hydrographical, both of France and of different parts of the world. These same charts, upon a larger scale, mixed with different pieces of painting, were to be placed in the great gallery. Upon this his majesty and I conceived a thought of appointing a large room, with its first range to make a magazine of models of whatever is most curious in machinery, relating to war, arts, trades, and all sorts of exercises, noble, liberal, and mechanical; that all those who aspired to perfection might improve themselves without trouble in this silent school, the lower apartment was to hold the heavy pieces of workmanship, and the higher was to contain the lighter. An exact inventory of both was to be one of the pieces of the great cabinet.*

* The death of Henry IV. put a total stop to the execution of all

Among the pieces relating to the ecclesiastical government, the most curious were a list of all the benefices of the kingdom, with the qualifications which they required; and a view of all the ecclesiastical orders, secular and regular, from the highest prelate to the lowest clergyman, with the distinction of natives and foreigners of both religions. This work was to be imitated in another relating to temporal government, in which the king was to see, to a single man, the number of gentlemen throughout the kingdom, divided into classes, and specified according to the differences of title and estate. In this scheme the king had the more pleasure, as he had, for a long time, formed the plan for a new order of knighthood, with an academy and hospital, only for the nobility; which institution, however glorious and useful, would have been no expense either to the people or the revenue.* He had pro-

these designs, which deserve all the praise that can be given them. It is also apparent that, however defective this state-museum remained, it has, nevertheless, given birth to many noble and useful establishments, which have done honour to succeeding ministers. This book will furnish many other subjects for this reflection. (See what has been said of this in the preface.)

* This design of the Duke of Sully admits of a further extension. It has long been a just cause of complaint that the public method of educating youths in the colleges of France, and in every part of Europe, still retains the barbarity of the most uncultivated times; the manner in which children are indiscriminately brought up, seems intended to qualify them only for the priesthood and the profession of theology. Latin and Greek, a system of rhetoric, fit only to deprave the taste and pervert the mind; a course of philosophy, which requires the application of two whole years to learn things so dry, tedious, and futile, that as much time would be necessary to drive them out of the mind as was lost in acquiring them, did not the manner and language in which they are taught, themselves produce that effect; a course of law that follows, of still greater length, and in which, with the same inconveniences, the ground of the French law is what is least taught. We see here in what particulars this method of education consists, the unhappy consequences of which are, that at a time when reading a number of good books upon all subjects ought to form a taste for the arts and sciences, and teach the principles of them, young men are not only held from making a progress, but sent into the world fraught with prejudices against all kinds of literature, and full of disgust to all books, from having been tediously confined to so small a number; a disgust which, in many instances, is never removed, or removed so as only to admit of reading, for mere amusement, at an age in which the mind has abated of that vigour without which the maturest judgment is only as a useless

posed, at the same time, and with the same advantages, to establish a camp, or standing body of six thousand foot, a thousand horse, with six pieces of artillery completely fitted out; and, to keep the same proportion in the naval force, twelve ships, and as many galleys, were always to be kept ready for a voyage.

As schemes of improvement and reformation, in every respect, had one of the chief places in this cabinet, besides the general plan by which Henry had contrived to change the face of all Europe, and which was laid out and particularised in the clearest and most extensive manner, there were distinct projects upon all sorts of subjects. In those, for instance, that related to war, methods were laid down for preserving an exact discipline, not only in time of actual war,

talent. Would it therefore be impossible to suppress at least one-half of this prodigious number of Latin colleges, and convert the rest into such as are more adapted to the different professions for which youth are intended?—to dedicate the first years of infancy to the learning the principal duties of religion and virtue—to read, write, and account well—to remove children from hence to other colleges, where, along with a slight acquaintance with the learned languages, for those who are not intended to make any great use of them, they should be taught to speak and write well in our own language, to familiarise themselves to its different styles, the epistolary in particular; and to understand the languages of, at the least, some of her neighbouring nations, with whom we have the most concern—to let these schools be succeeded by others, where the elements of the most necessary parts of mathematics, geography, and history, should be taught—where tactics, politics, laws, and commerce, laid down in a clear and concise method, should be made use of by the masters, to discover the bent of their pupils' genius; and by the pupils, to determine them in the choice of such studies as they are most disposed and attracted to by nature? This short view of the subject can scarcely be deemed more than a very rough sketch of a better project. It, nevertheless, seems to me sufficient to point out the road which should be taken, to inspire you with a zeal for true glory, labour, and application, to prevent their falling into idleness and debauchery; and, in short, to supply the state with the most excellent subjects of every kind. We daily see instances that the knowledge of this truth determines many parents to prefer a private and domestic education for their children to the public one of the colleges. One cannot find fault with them for this, notwithstanding the advantages of the one over those of the other are so conspicuous. This consideration makes it only more to be regretted, that public education has not yet been carried to that perfection amongst us every one perceives it is capable of and ought to be.

but likewise in peace, by which the persons of the trader, manufacturer, shepherd, and husbandman would have been preserved inviolable from the soldiers. These four professions, by which the State may be truly said to be supported, would have been completely secured from all outrages of the nobility by other regulations there specified with relation to the domestic administration of government. The distinction of conditions, and the extent of the rights of each, were so exactly laid down that none of them would have been able, for the future, either to break from their subordination, or make an ill use of their power. The design of the papers relating to the clergy was to engage all the ecclesiastics to make such use as the canons require of revenues which, properly speaking, were not their own; to forbid them to unite livings of the yearly value of six hundred livres, or to have any one that produced more than ten thousand livres; upon the whole, to acquit themselves worthily of their employments, and to consider it as their first duty to set a good example.

I will not enter into more particulars, having had occasion to treat of these subjects in different parts of these Memoirs.*

I shall likewise refer the reader to all that he has seen, or

* This kind of silent school for the finances, war, commerce, &c., appears to me so happily contrived, that, in reality, I see no bounds to the extension of the utility of it. What is the reason that those who are employed in the administration of the different affairs of the government are continually falling into so many mistakes? Because, there being no positive rules, no written principles they can consult, or whence they can either draw the information they ought to have, or correct their own ideas, they generally go on as chance conducts them, and often wander from the proper road. From hence, in every respect, it happens that we arrive so late at the intended point, and that very often we miss it entirely. No body or community can subsist for two or three ages only, without the help of some fundamental rules of conduct, which can, on every emergency, be resorted to by those who have the direction of it. How then can the State, which comprehends all lesser communities, be conducted without them? How otherwise can those, who succeed to posts and employments, form any judgment, whether different circumstances require any alteration in the principles by which their predecessors were guided? For want of such rules, such permanent laws, many useful projects, which could not be carried into execution at the time of their invention, have perished with their inventors; and many bad ones, adopted by rashness and ignorance, have been perpetuated.

shall see in this book, upon the head of morality, and principles of just and wise governments, which had also their place in that collection. I thus cut off an account which I could have carried to great length, because how much soever I might have extended it, I could never have shown the whole, at least not without tediousness and trouble, which would have been the greater, as the account would have contained nothing absolutely new. Among other memorials relating to the finances there was one upon the methods of raising money, which ought to be distinguished from the other pieces that are passed over without mention. By this scheme a hundred millions might be raised in three or four years. The only caution which I recommended was not to make use of it without necessity; and to begin by the most easy and gentle of the different ways there mentioned. They were laid down in the order which I shall here give them, though this is only a mere epitome of the plan.*

A new regulation was to be made with regard to the presidents of ports and havens, the officers of the crown lands, and *traites foraines et domaniales*, the tolls of rivers, and the customs paid at their mouths, with a new valuation of these claims, and a new creation of officers for the collection. Another regulation related to the merchants who bought and sold cattle, wine and other liquors, fresh and salt fish, wood, hay, and other provisions. Another related to the posts, in which were comprehended the post-masters and comptrollers, the masters of the king's stables, the couriers, bankers, and their commissioners, the stage-coaches,† the foot and horse messengers, and all carriages by land and water. When I read this article to the king, he said, "I commend you to La Varenne, and all the people of the stable; I will send them all to you." Another scheme related to the markers of leather, the gaugers, the keepers of coffee-houses, the retailers, commissaries, assessors, and collectors, the proprietors of lodging-houses, and many others. "Right," said Henry, "you must do all this for us; for not a day passes but I am teased to make a grant of some

* There is another statement of this account in Sully's Memoirs, vol. iv. p. 99. I have reduced both these into one.

† Post-horses and stage-coaches were first set up in the reign of Henry IV.

or other of these." Another was upon the fourth and eighth aids, the entry and exportation of goods, whether from city to city, or from province to province; a creation of new officers for the magazines of salt, with an augmentation of taxes paid by them and by retailers; an augmentation of a crown upon every minot of salt, and other regulations respecting both the salt works and the sale of the salt, which is got from them—("This," says Henry, "I should like well; but you must begin with your own government, or else we shall have great clamour")—the *parties casuelles*, and the *droit annuel*;* the secretaries of the king were to be aug-

* This is the first and only time the *droit annuel* is mentioned in these Memoirs. This is the more surprising, because this law, by which offices of justice, made saleable in the reign of Francis I., are made hereditary, was established under Henry IV., and therefore M. de Sully was probably the principal author of it; and because, when the edict for its establishment was made, nothing was heard but murmurs and complaints; that the purchase of those offices being, by means of this new law, raised to an exorbitant price, the nobility and people of merit would be totally excluded from them, and they would, for the future, fall to the share only of moneyed men; whereby the vexations in the administration of justice would be increased, instead of being diminished. Cardinal Richelieu, convinced by the good reasons M. de Sully had for acting thus, and which he had from that minister's own mouth, employs the first section of the fourth chapter of his Political Testament (part i.) to prove that neither the sale nor inheritance of offices of justice ought to be abolished in this kingdom. "The late king," says he, "by the advice of a very good council, in the time of a profound peace, and in a reign free from want, added the establishment of the right of inheriting of offices of justice to the right of selling them. It is not to be presumed he would have taken this step without a mature consideration, and without foreseeing, as far as human prudence is able, the consequences and effects of it. Nothing contributed so much to enable the Duke of Guise to render himself powerful in the League, against the king and state, as the great number of officers he had, by his interest, brought into the principal posts of the kingdom. I have been told by the Duke of Sully that this consideration was one of the chief motives with the king for establishing the *droit annuel*," &c. After this, the Cardinal de Richelieu maintains that it is better those offices should be bought, than given to poor and indigent people, or be carried off by ambition and interest. "Instead," says he, "of opening the door to virtue, it would be opened to cabals and factions, and the great offices would be filled with officers of low extraction, often better stocked with Latin than riches. Low birth seldom produces in men the qualifications necessary to form a great magistrate. Wealth is a great ornament to dignities, and they are so

mented to sixteen. A tax was to be raised upon salt, in the form of the *taille*, to make a fund for the wages of the different sovereign and subaltern officers, particularly of the courts of justice; another respected the offices of lieutenants,

much heightened by exterior lustre, that one may boldly say, that of two persons of equal merit, the preference ought to be given to him who is in the most affluent circumstances: besides, the fear of losing all he is worth, will be no small restraint against misbehaviour to an officer who has engaged the greatest part of his estate in the purchase of his office." If," says he again, "offices could be obtained without money, commerce would be abandoned by many, who, dazzled with the splendour of dignities, would rather push themselves into offices at the expense of being ruined, than acquire wealth for their families by employing themselves in commerce." He proves the particular usefulness of the *droit annuel*, from the consideration that, without it, all the old officers would resign their offices, "when experience, and the ripeness of age, had made them most capable of serving the public." He ought, I think, to have added this further reason, that a young man who is intended for the enjoyment of one of those posts, will receive from his parents an education suitable to that station of life they know he is designed to fill. The advice wherewith our author finishes this article, is to fix the value of these offices at a moderate price, "which should not exceed," says he, "the half of what, from the extravagant humour of the people, is now given for them." He does justice to Henry IV. on this head. "The late king," he says, "foreseeing this evil, had inserted, in the edict he made on this subject, clauses able to prevent it; not only excepting from the *droit annuel* the offices of the chief presidents, and the solicitors and attorneys-general, but, moreover, reserving to himself the power to dispose of those offices which are subject to it, when vacant, on paying previously to the heirs of the possessors of them the price at which they should be valued. The mischiefs which the *droit annuel* at present occasions, do not proceed so much from any faults in the nature of it, as from the restrictions this great prince had subjected it to having been imprudently taken off. If the edict had continued in the purity of its original institution, the value of offices would never have risen to that excessive height it is now at. It is, therefore, only necessary to reduce the edict for the *droit annuel* to the terms of its first establishment." These words fully justify the Duke of Sully against all the imputations that have been cast on him, on account of the counsel he gave Henry IV. touching the famous edict of the *droit annuel*. By virtue of this edict the officers of justice were compelled to pay the sixtieth part of the produce of their offices, which continued to be done every ninth year till 1709, when they were obliged to buy off this charge. (See Le Journal de l'Etoile, anno 1605, when this edict was made, De Thou, Mezerai, &c.) The excessive number of the officers of justice, &c., is the principal and the true cause of all the other mischiefs men of sense complain of in respect to this edict.

comptrollers, and treasurers, as well general as provincial, to be dignified with new titles, and set over the artillery, bridges, and causeways; another scheme respected the employments of bailiwicks, elections, and magazines of salt, to increase them by new grants of wages and privileges, out of the money raised upon the *taille*, even to five sous in the livre. To establish new elections in Guienne, Languedoc, Brittany, and Burgundy: the king foresaw that in these provinces there would be much murmuring. New treasurers were to be created in the offices of the finances; two at Sens and at Cahors, six in Brittany, and three elsewhere. Henry said that the number of these harpies should be rather lessened than increased.

I proposed to create, in times of necessity, a still greater number of offices among the treasurers, payers of rents and wages, receivers, and other officers of the *tailles*, secretaries and under-officers of the greater and lesser chancery, as well as to make new grants to the offices already in being; to appoint two principal commissioners over all the offices in revenue. To particularise all this would take up too much room. The virtue of the king representing to him what was yet a mere project as already put in execution, made him exclaim against such a number of regulations, which, I agreed with him, the people were not to be charged with but in case of great necessity.

To conclude, it was proposed that sovereign courts should be erected in different cities, such as a parliament, chamber of accounts, and court of aids, at Lyons and Poictiers, suppressing the court of aids at Montferrand. As it was proposed that the aids should be extended to Brittany, a court of aids was to be created there, another at Bordeaux, with a chamber of accounts, a third in Burgundy, and a fourth in Provence. At this the king shook his head, and said not a word. I shall not repeat here what I have already said in many parts of these Memoirs. From the aversion which I have shown with regard to whatever is styled luxury, it will readily be supposed that all foolish and superfluous expenses were heavily taxed, and so indeed they were; and I shall honestly declare that if my influence had been sufficient, besides cutting off a great part of those expenses which are inconsistent with the pressing necessities of the State, I

should have prohibited, likewise, coaches and other inventions of luxury, except to those persons whose condition in life could enable them to gratify their vanity at a high price.

If it be necessary to lay this check upon luxury, of which the contagion has insensibly seized on all parts of the community, it is yet of more importance to stop its fatal consequences in those to whom it is not merely an occasion of negligence and softness, but a cause of corruption and ruin of families. Provision was made against this by another scheme, placed likewise among the pieces of the cabinet of State; nor was it one of the least misfortunes occasioned by the untimely death of the king, that it buried in the grave with him so many useful designs at the moment of their birth.

According to another regulation, an edict would have passed to oblige the advocates and attorneys-general of the parliament to prosecute and punish in an exemplary manner all those who, by the example of their dissoluteness and prodigality, injured the public, themselves, or other people; and to this they were bound, under penalty of answering themselves for all the disorders which their negligence or connivance might produce. The way by which this was to be put in their power, without rendering their offices burdensome beyond measure, was to join with them in every jurisdiction three persons publicly appointed, under the title of censors or reformers, chosen every three years in a public assembly, and authorised by their office, to which was joined every kind of exemption, not only to lay before the judges informations against all fathers or children of families guilty of dishonourable dissoluteness, and of superfluous expenses, to a degree beyond their fortune; but likewise to force the judges themselves to punish these excesses in the manner prescribed; or, on failure, to call them to an account, as partners of the crime. Every prosecution was to be preceded by two warnings; but, at the third, an action was issued out, by which the person accused was put under tutorage, and saw the management of his affairs consigned to other hands, who were to leave him only two-thirds of his revenue, and apply the other part to the payment of his debts, and for the repairs of his estate: and this was to last till evident

tokens were given of a real reformation, and a return to a more reasonable way of thinking and acting. From this law no condition was excepted; and it is likely that no member of the community would have escaped this judicature, because it was itself answerable to a higher tribunal, and even the officers were fixed down to their duty by the dread of punishment equivalent to disgrace.

It would have been decreed, at the same time, to destroy this mischief in its origin, that no person, of whatever quality or condition, should be allowed to borrow a sum which, compared with his estate, could be deemed considerable; and that no other should lend it him, on pain of losing it, unless it were, at the same time, declared in a contract or obligation to what use the money so borrowed should be employed, what debts the borrower already had, to what persons, upon what security, and what revenue was still left him, as well to secure the debt as to maintain his family. With the same intention, every father of a family, and every person who acted in the character of a father, were forbidden to give to any of their children, on settling them in the world, a larger fortune than justice allowed, upon a due consideration of their present means, and of the number of their children born or likely to be born; excepting only, that the authority of a father was secured, by allowing him to punish a vicious or unnatural son; but even in this case the offence was to be clearly proved, and this arbitrary disposition was to extend only to moveable goods of his own acquisition.

This regulation of domestic economy was but a part of the general regulation with respect to the whole, and principally with respect to trials of causes, of which, I believe, the reader will be pleased with an account; for the interest which every one has in seeing the innumerable abuses of the courts amended, is great, general, and universally known. The design of Henry was to impart it, at first, to the presidents of the different courts of justice, and the king's councillors in the parliaments,—not to be disputed, but that they might give their opinions and advice upon the supposition that, concurring in the same design, they might discover something useful for the contraction of processes and the destruction of the despicable art of chicanery. When these articles of regulation had been finally drawn up, according to

the opinions which were thought best, his majesty was resolved to bring them into parliament, written with his own hand, to have them registered. The reader has already seen those which we had previously drawn up, which would probably have passed with little alteration.

In all suits between relations, counted nearly according to the canonical degrees of consanguinity and affinity, as well temporal as spiritual, the plaintiff was obliged, in the first place, to make an offer, from which he was not to depart, of referring all the differences to the arbitration of four persons, two chosen by each party, among their friends or relations; to name these two arbitrators on the spot, and to set down, in distinct articles signed with his own hand, all his pretensions and demands, to which he was not allowed to make any additions. The same thing was to be done by the defendant, who had only a month allowed him to name his arbitrators. In another month the arbitrators were to be in possession of all the proofs and writings of both parties; another month was allowed the arbitrators to pronounce judgment; and a month after that was allowed to a superior arbitrator to determine those points on which the voices had been equally divided: for all other points were to be considered as determined, and came not under the cognizance of the superior arbitrator. The same regulation took place with the judges: they could not again bring the main cause before them, nor make any inquiry into the fundamental question; but only give sentence according to judgment, good or bad, of the arbitrators upon the pieces laid before them. The sovereign courts had in this respect no higher privileges than ordinary jurisdictions: they could neither appoint a new inquiry, nor receive new proofs; and they were allowed only a month or six weeks to make a decree, which, if they exceeded that time, became void, and the judges themselves were condemned to pay the losses and damages of both parties.

The notaries were declared principal and competent judges of all contracts, transactions, obligations, transfers, grants, exchanges, sales, and leases; so that the opinion given by them upon the sense of any contract brought before them, was provisionally established, notwithstanding any opposition or appeal; and the superior judges could not proceed upon that sentence in any other manner than as upon the sentence of a court of established judicature. The precau-

tion by which the knavery of the notaries was obviated, was, first, that every act must be passed in the presence of two notaries, or of one notary and two witnesses; in the second place, the contracting parties were obliged to bring each of them an advocate to the assistance of the notaries, whose advice the latter were to take, and set down their names in the decisions. This act, and the sentence thus passed, would never afterwards be falsified, if it was for a sum exceeding a hundred livres.

The summons could not be brought before any other judge than that of the defendant, and, as I have said, it was to contain all the claims of the plaintiff, in a manner so general that nothing was afterwards to be done, except making an answer to the allegations of the defendant, under a penalty upon the judges, advocates, and solicitors. These advocates and solicitors were immediately to put the cause into such a state that it might be determined; and till it was in such a state, they were forbidden to plead it, or bring it into court. The most considerable causes, those in which there was to be many writings and much evidence, could not be delayed more than three months; and here, as in all other bills of importance, bills of review were not allowed, and the only recourse was to letters patent despatched in the council of state, and sealed with the great seal.

This regulation extended in its particulars to every single point of law or custom that required to be rectified; such as the rules, which have already been mentioned, upon the bad economy of the inhabitants, upon the common right of possession between husband and wife, and others, which I do not mention, with respect to perquisites, salaries, vacations, and other charges; as well as of the different subterfuges of chicanery, and all the abuses of the courts of justice, with respect to pleaders and writers, and many other things, of which everybody hears loud complaints. The king could find nothing better to be done than to refer all those particulars to the discretion and regulation of twelve men, selected from amongst those who had most knowledge of business, and were men of the greatest wisdom and equity, who were to pursue the design in the following method: they were to write down, in form of a memorial, all the formalities generally observed, without omitting any; in the next place, those

which they thought the public good required should be omitted; and, lastly, that which they thought best to substitute in their place. This work being so far finished, was to be subjected to a careful examination of three of the king's principal ministers and councillors, who were to give their opinion upon it; after which, the king was likewise to declare his sentiments, and to give it all the authority necessary to make the future practices of the courts invariable and uniform.

When we had once begun to compose this general "inventory of state," it became one of our most usual subjects of conversation, and the king appeared extremely impatient to have it made perfect. He sent one of the pages of his chamber for me one morning, when the weather was excessively hot, for I think it was in the month of June. I went directly to his closet, but I found he had just left it, and was already in the Tuileries. I could not overtake him till he had got as far as the terrace belonging to the Capuchin friars, near a little door, through which he entered their chapel to hear mass. As soon as he saw me at a distance, followed by that crowd of clients who seem to guess every place where ministers are likely to be, "Go," said he, "and tell the Capuchins that they must delay mass a little; for I must confer with M. de Sully, who is not a good mass-man: if he would take my advice as to this affair, I should love him still more than I do, and there is nothing which he might not expect from my friendship; however, such as he is, I have a tender affection for him, and receive great advantages from his services." His majesty then took my hand, which he held in his; and during two hours that we walked together he talked to me only of some new memorials, which he asked me for, to add to his cabinet of state. At parting, he bid me aloud be as exact and diligent as possible in this work. "Let there be few words," said he, "and much matter. However, all must be plain and clear; for I would communicate some part of it to two or three of my servants, whose names I will tell you." I replied, that his majesty must give me a little time to execute this task, since he required method, brevity, and clearness, at once. "Do it then as soon as you can," said Henry; "you know my style, and I know yours: they agree well together."

I sent a message to the chancellor to let him know that I should not go to the council, and I shut myself up all the rest of that day, and part of the night, looking over books and papers; nor did I even sit down to supper. At seven o'clock the next morning the king came to the Arsenal, attended by those persons whom he had mentioned to me the day before. These were MM. d'Ornano, de Boësse, du Bourg, de Lisle, de St. André, de Montpellier, de Pilles, de Fortia, de St. Canard, de la Buisse, de la Vieuville. There were likewise MM. de Vitry, de Vic, de Nérestan, de St. Géran, La Varenne, d'Escures, Erard, and Châtillon, engineers (for part of some affairs, relating to their profession, made the business); Bethune, my cousin; and, lastly, some foreigners, sent by Lesdiguières and the Duke of Bouillon, and another, named Pucharnault, from La Force. My closet was almost full. I had not been able to draw up the memorial in question, and the reason I gave his majesty, who had asked for it immediately, was, that I had received some despatches from La Force concerning a new disturbance raised by the Spaniards in Béarn, and the Lower Navarre, which it was necessary to answer immediately. I likewise wrote to him, said I, about my nephew, and my niece Biron, whom they want to get divorced, which will be a fine piece of work; for she believes she is with child; and she really is so. "This," replied his majesty, "is one of the strangest cases I ever knew, and the most ridiculous. I am deceived if ever you will be able to bring these people to reason. Finish your despatches," added he, after telling me, in a low voice, something he had to communicate to me, "and finish likewise our papers as soon as possible, and do not go to the council to-day." "That cannot be, Sire," I replied; "for some affairs of consequence are to be laid before it, which were not examined yesterday on account of my absence." "Well, do the best you can," said he, "and adieu; for I am going to the Tuileries."

I laboured with so much industry at the memorial, that it was ready the next morning, when his majesty again sent for me to the Tuileries. I gave my secretary these papers to carry, enclosed in a loose sheet of paper, and sealed. I found Sillery and Villeroy with the king, and we all four continued

to walk, during almost two hours, discoursing upon the scheme of these memorials, with so much heat and action, that it was easily perceived by those at a distance that we did not agree in our opinions. I was going away without taking notice of my packet to the king, when he called me back, and asked me for it. I showed it to him in my secretary's hands, whom I afterwards ordered to present it to his majesty when he had an inclination to read it; but to take care that he brought it back with him sealed again in the same manner it now was. What had passed in our conversation made it necessary for me to use this precaution, which my secretary afterwards excused himself for to Henry, by alleging the positive commands I had given him. He followed the king, who went to the Capuchins to hear mass, and took this opportunity to go to breakfast—for it would not have been easy to have found another. The king seeing him when he came from mass, "Follow me," said he, "to the Louvre, and do not go away from thence till I have spoken to you." As soon as he came to his closet, he asked him for the packet. My secretary then told him the orders I had given him. "Well," said his majesty, "be it so; but, I tell you again, do not leave the Louvre." He then went into his library to leave the packet there while he dined. The court was not very full, because it was later than usual. The king hardly spoke to any one, and appeared to be in deep thought, often striking his knife upon his plate.

My secretary believed he was about to be dismissed, when he saw the king rise from table and return to his closet, and heard himself called for about half an hour afterwards: but some princes and lords of the court coming in at that moment, with whom his majesty seemed to have entered into conversation, he withdrew into a corner with La Varenne and Beringhen. The place where they stood was very dark, so that it was not easy to perceive them, especially if they took a little care to conceal themselves, which they did, though without any design. Some minutes afterwards they saw Henry advance, with two or three of the company whom he had separated from the rest, and came so near them that they could hear what he said, although he did not speak very loud; they redoubled their attention, and they heard him say these words: "I am fatigued with walking so long this morn-

ing; for I have been conversing more than two hours, upon matters of great importance, with three men whom I have found as contrary in their opinions as they are in their tempers and inclinations. Any other than myself, perhaps, would find it difficult to employ them; but I am so well acquainted with their whims that I even draw advantages from their debates and opposition, which serve to make all affairs they are engaged in so plain and clear, that it is easy for me to choose that method which appears to be best. You know them well enough without my naming them."

His majesty continued to draw the pictures of his three ministers in the following manner. I shall be candid enough not to make the least alteration in his words, even where I was myself concerned, and it was with me that he began. "Some persons," said Henry, "complain, and indeed I do myself sometimes, of his temper: they say he is harsh, impatient, and obstinate: he is accused of having too enterprising a mind, of presuming too much upon his own opinions, exaggerating the worth of his own actions, and lessening that of others; as likewise of eagerly aspiring after honours and riches. Now, although I am well convinced that part of these imputations are true, and that I am obliged to keep a high hand over him, when he offends me with those sallies of ill-humour, yet I cannot cease to love him, esteem him, and employ him in all affairs of consequence; because I am very sure that he loves my person, that he takes an interest in my preservation, and that he is ardently solicitous for the honour, the glory, and grandeur of me and my kingdom. I know also that he has no malignity in his heart; that he is indefatigable in business, and fruitful in expedients; that he is a careful manager of my revenue, a man laborious and diligent, who endeavours to be ignorant of nothing, and to render himself capable of conducting all affairs, whether of peace or war; who writes and speaks in a style that pleases me, because it is at once that of a soldier and a statesman. In a word, I confess to you that, notwithstanding all his extravagances and little transports of passion, I find no one so capable as he is of consoling me under every uneasiness." I shall not here expatiate upon the praise or blame which is conveyed in these words, but candidly confess that I may deserve both the one and the other. The part of an honest

man, upon such an occasion, is to profit from both, that he may daily rectify his heart and his manners.

"The second," pursued Henry, speaking of the Chancellor Sillery, "is of a compliant disposition, not easily offended, wonderfully insinuating in his behaviour, and cautious in his actions; he has a good understanding, is well versed in science, and the business of his profession, nor is he ignorant of others; he speaks well, with method and clearness; he is not capable of forming any black designs against others; yet he is extremely solicitous to accumulate wealth and titles; he is never without news, or persons in his pay to make discoveries for him; he is not of a humour to hazard lightly either his person or fortune for others. His virtues and his faults being thus balanced, it is easy for me to use the former advantageously for myself, and guard against the bad consequences of the latter.*

"As to the third," continued the king, speaking of Villeroy, "he has been long practised in business; is thoroughly acquainted with the transactions of his own times; he has, from his earliest youth, been employed in state affairs more than the two others; he observes great order and regularity in the execution of his office, and judgment in distributing those papers which belong to his employment; he is generous, and his abilities appear by his modesty and silence, and his reluctance to speak in public;† yet he is obstinate, and

* This chancellor did the State three signal services; by employing part of his wealth in retaining the Swiss in our alliance; at the peace of Vervins; and in negotiating the king's marriage. "The Chancellor de Sillery was a man of no learning.[1] Henry IV. used to say of him and the Constable Henry de Montmorency, that with his chancellor, who did not understand Latin, and his constable, who could neither read nor write, he could execute the most difficult affairs." (Amelot de la Houssaye, note 1 on the 195th letter of Cardinal d'Ossat.)

† Of all the places in these Memoirs where M. de Villeroy is mentioned, we ought to fix on this as the principal one, to give us a proper insight into the character of that minister, and chiefly from the opinion

[1] According to Sir George Carew, at this time ambassador in France, "he spoke the Latin and Italian tongues in good perfection, and had some knowledge of the Greek. In his humanity, learning, as in the science of the laws, he was held rather superficial than profound." (State of France under Henry IV. at the end of Birch's Negotiat.) —Ed.

cannot bear to have his opinions contradicted, which, he thinks, ought to serve for good reasons: yet he will temporise a while, and wait with patience till the faults of others have proved him to be in the right, which I have sometimes found my advantage in." This discourse of his majesty was addressed to persons of the first quality, who, although they had probably inclination enough to answer it, yet continued silent: and the king, some moments afterwards, perceiving my secretary, ordered my papers to be given him, which he brought back to me sealed, as I had desired.

Before we leave these general affairs of the finances it is necessary to see what there is particular on this article for the present year. Denis Feydeau and his associates had got the general farm of the aids adjudged to themselves, by offering two hundred thousand livres a year more than the former farmers. I foresaw what really happened, that Feydeau would not be able to get in his money. Accordingly, he presented a petition to his majesty, praying to be discharged of these two hundred thousand livres. I thought these farmers suffered no more than what they justly deserved, since no unforeseen accident had happened, nor had any obstacle been raised to their quiet possession; and what increased my anger was, that the imprudence of these new comers had deprived us of farmers who were able to pay, to substitute others in their room who were insolvent. However, I prevailed upon his majesty to agree to this diminution under the title of a grant, without which they would be exposed to a bankruptcy and the additional trouble of setting the aids again to sale. I judged only that it ought not to take place till the 1st of January, 1610, or, at least, till the 1st of October this year, that his majesty might not lose, all at once, the sum of four hundred thousand francs.

I caused Ferrand, first serjeant of the chamber of accounts of Paris, to be prosecuted. He was deprived of all the offices and commissions he exercised in this court, which his majesty, even before judgment was given, bestowed upon La Fond, who has been mentioned in these Memoirs: he was

Henry IV. had of it. One single original account like this deserves more credit than all uncertain reports, or such as are dictated by prejudice, aversion, or a spirit of party.

already intendant, and the king, as a further reward for his fidelity, made him a present of the furniture of the Conciergerie. The Count of Soissons and the other officers of the king's household presented likewise a petition against the treasurer, Pajot, which was sent to me. Puget, another treasurer of the exchequer, having, the year before, by the orders of his majesty, given a favourable declaration for Placin, formerly his clerk, which the king was guarantee for, and was deposited in my hands, his majesty wrote to me to give this paper to Puget, as he himself had engaged should be done, in case the suit which was between these two financiers could not be terminated without it.

His majesty, after first asking my advice, ordered a brevet to be granted to Mortier Choisy, by which he was declared released from the residue of his farm for fifty thousand livres, half to be paid immediately and the other half in six months. He likewise ordered to be delivered to Zamet the acquittances of the two offices of arrears in Normandy, amounting to five thousand crowns, with the writings necessary for the payment, likewise, of the sum of forty-nine thousand nine hundred and odd livres, for which he had given an assignment the last year upon the two sols and six deniers upon each measure of salt, for a like sum, which Zamet had advanced him. Henry likewise gave twelve thousand livres to Montigny, six thousand to D'Escures, and two thousand four hundred livres to different pensionaries in Burgundy, which were delivered to them by M. le Grand, and paid the president Tambonneau his pension for the last year. These circumstances I collect from letters his majesty wrote to me with his own hand.

I received also some letters from the queen, one of which related to her releasing certain rights which had been made over to her, and were charged on lands belonging to Queen Margaret, to whom they had been granted by brevet. In another she desired that I would pay the wife of Conchini twenty thousand crowns, which the king, to oblige the queen, had given her upon the presidents established in the office of finances. Leonora, having so great an interest in the affair, had performed her part so well, that the money, as the queen told me, was ready to be paid.

The sums, the principal ones at least, which I carried to

the account of Henry's private expenses are, first, twenty-two thousand pistoles, which, on the 18th of January, he sent to tell me that he had lost at play; a hundred thousand livres at one time, and fifty-one thousand at another, which he lost likewise at play to Edouard Fernandez, a Portuguese. He ordered me to take up this last sum of fifty-one thousand livres upon sixty thousand, which was to return to him upon the office of advocate-general at Rouen, after the death of Marguerite, to whose children he gave the nine thousand remaining, in consideration of the good service he had received from their father in this parliament, and he gave the office to Des Yveteaux,* a relation of the deceased. For play a thousand pistoles; he, at first, sent only for five hundred, but Beringhen came afterwards for the other five hundred. I carried him a thousand pistoles, for play likewise, when I went with the chancellor to wait on him at Fontainebleau, where he was taking physic after the Easter holidays: my journey thither was occasioned by some despatches which Préaux had brought from Jeannin. The king, beginning to reflect more seriously upon the excess to which he carried his passion for play, became sensible of the necessity there was to correct it, and often afterwards promised me that he would moderate it, if he could do no more. He continued to lay out great sums upon buildings, and sent Zamet† from Fontainebleau to inspect them when he could not go himself. I find likewise in my accounts for this year an acquittance from Marcadé for four thousand seven hundred and forty livres, for eleven hundred and sixteen pearls which Henry had made a present of to Mademoiselle de Vendôme, his daughter; another of three thousand to Mademoiselle des Essarts; and another of three hundred livres to Saubion, her servant.

The chancellor and I were directed to name commissioners

* Nicholas Vauquelin des Yveteaux.

† This rich officer, at that time, took the titles of Baron of Murat and Billy, councillor of the king in all the councils, governor of Fontainebleau, and comptroller of the queen's household. He died at Paris in 1614, aged about sixty-five, leaving one son, a camp-marshal, who was killed at the siege of Montpellier; and another, Bishop of Langres: he had those sons by Madeleine le Clerc du Tremblai, and got them legitimated.

to treat with those of the Duke of Lorraine about settling the limits of the country of Messin, which every day gave rise to some new contests. I sent the comptroller of the fortifications to Calais with a sum of money to repair the damage which had been lately done by the sea to the Risbank. I was informed of it by Vice-Admiral de Vic, who could have wished that the government had been at a more considerable expense for this town, and who formed several schemes, as well for its convenience and security as to prevent the inundations to which this place and the neighbouring parts were exposed.

There never was a more useful law made than that which appeared this year against fraudulent bankrupts :* it decreed that such bankrupts should be punished with death, as being robbers of the public; that all donations, grants, sales, and assignments made by them to their children, heirs, friends, and supposititious creditors should be annulled, and those that accepted of them punished as their accomplices, if it should appear to the judges that all this was done with an intention to defraud the true creditors. By this regulation all persons were forbidden, on pain of being prosecuted as accomplices likewise, to give a retreat to these bankrupts, their securities, clerks, or factors; as also to receive any of their goods, papers, or effects, or to afford them the least assistance: all persons were permitted to detain them without a warrant, and to bring them to justice, notwithstanding any arrêt and custom to the contrary: and, lastly, the true creditors of the bankrupts were forbidden to make any agreements or contracts with them, or any persons acting for them, upon pain of losing their debts, and even of having a criminal prosecution commenced against them. An action at law was the only way left open to them. This appeared to me to be almost all that could be done to secure the public trade and tranquillity, both equally interested in an abuse which was now become very common.

This edict was followed by another against duels, which I had long earnestly solicited for. An extraordinary council being assembled for this purpose in the first gallery at Fontainebleau, his majesty, who was resolved to examine into

* "Merc. Franç." and other histories. (Anno 1609.)

this matter thoroughly, desired to know the origin of the different forms and customs used in duelling. His councillors gave him no cause to compliment them upon their erudition: all remained silent, and myself as well as the others, but with such expression in my looks as made the king easily perceive that I only wanted his command to speak. His majesty then turned towards me, and said, "Master-general, by your looks I guess you know more than you pretend to know; I entreat, nay, I command you to tell us your thoughts." I still refused through respect, but being again pressed to declare my sentiments, I made a speech, which I shall not repeat here, since it contained nothing more than what I formerly said in these Memoirs, when I treated that subject.* I took care to send the edict against duels† immediately into my government, and to have it observed there with the utmost strictness.

To this account of the affairs of the government it will not be improper to add some intrigues of the court. Upon the advices I have mentioned of certain factions in several provinces, the king resolved to send thither some person in his name, and N—— was the man he pitched upon for this purpose, one who will neither be pleased nor offended at seeing himself mentioned here. I could not approve of this choice, knowing that the hatred he bore to several persons there would induce him to lay crimes to their charge which they never had the least intention of committing: I therefore told his majesty that if N—— was the person employed by him, I would send no one thither from myself, because I did not choose to act with such an associate. N——, disappointed of this employment, resolved to revenge himself on me by every method he could think of, and offered those courtiers whom he knew to be my enemies to serve them as the instrument of all their designs against me.

Accordingly he went one day to the Marquis de Cœuvres, and after obliging him to secrecy, it being, he said, his zeal only which induced him to make the discovery, he affirmed,

* See vol. iii. p. 249.

† This edict, which obliges those who have been offended in point of honour to have recourse to the marshals of France, or their lieutenants, for reparation, inflicts very severe penalties: infamy, loss of nobility, and even death. (P. Matthieu, vol. ii. book iv.)

that I was gone to the parliament under pretence of having some business there; but, in reality, to withdraw from the register's office the letters of legitimation of M. de Vendôme, which had been carried thither to be registered in parliament. De Cœuvres went immediately to make this report to the person whom it most concerned, and M. de Vendôme went also as hastily to complain of it to the king. His majesty asked him the name of the person who had given him this information; but M. de Vendôme, without discovering the impostor, answered for the truth of his report in such a manner, that the king could no longer doubt of it; and when he saw me the next morning, asked me what business I had at the parliament. I replied (which was true), "That I had gone thither to take copies of some papers in the registers for which I had occasion." "Was it for anything that concerned my son De Vendôme?" returned Henry. "No, Sire," said I; and, surprised at the manner in which he spoke to me, "why should you think M. de Vendôme was concerned in it?" "I know why," replied this prince, coldly. Two or three other words, equally mysterious, which escaped his majesty, gave me to understand that he had some suspicion in his mind. I entreated him to tell me what it was, which he did; and I soon convinced him that calumny had here played its usual part.

That same day, in the afternoon, the king being at the house of the Countess of Moret, a little boy came there with a packet which he delivered to the first footman he met. Madame de Moret, to whom it was brought, found a note, in which the same informations were given her, concerning her children, as De Cœuvres had received with regard to M. de Vendôme. She began to weep; and the king desiring to know the reason, she gave him the note to read. Henry asked for the boy who had brought it, but he was not to be found. "Madame," said he to the countess, with a thoughtful and gloomy air, "there is some malice here on one side or the other." He then endeavoured to make some discoveries concerning the author of these stories. The boy was soon found out; and by what he said, the king guessed that N—— was the person: for having in vain desired De Cœuvres to name him, he named him himself; and De Cœuvres, in his surprise, could not deny he was the man. However, he gave

immediate notice to N—— of what had happened. N——, who saw that this affair was likely to become very serious, went to Villeroy, and, throwing himself at his feet, entreated him to support him against the effects of my resentment. Villeroy, who thought there might be some danger in defending him, at least if he did it openly, would not make him any promise, but contented himself with hazarding, when any opportunity offered, a few favourable words for N——, which his majesty received with such an air as made him repent of his complaisance for that impostor.

Henry had just then discovered two other instances of this man's malignant disposition, which showed that he was capable of failing in respect to majesty itself: one was, that he had had the imprudence to propagate publicly a feigned tale of an amour between Henry and a certain girl, whom he named, and the malice to inform the queen of it; and the other, that he had encouraged Father Gonthier, a Jesuit, to continue his outrageous manner of preaching, which had already made some noise, by assuring him that one of his sermons, which he quoted, and which was one of the most furious, had been generally admired and praised by the lords of the court, naming, in particular, the Marshals de Brissac and D'Ornano.* This lie was unfortunate enough for N——;

* "Father Gonthier, a Jesuit, in the presence of the king, who attended his sermons in St. Gervais' church on Friday (Christmas-day), Saturday, and Sunday, made continual declamations against the Huguenots, whom he several times called *vermin, scoundrels;*" and speaking of the new articles of their confession, in which they call the pope Antichrist, "If it is true, Sire," says he, "that the pope is Antichrist, on what footing stands your marriage? Where is the dispensation for it? What will become of the dauphin?" Marshal d'Ornano said one day to the king, "If any Jesuit had dared to preach before me at Bordeaux, as Father Gonthier did in your majesty's presence, I would have ordered him to be thrown into the river the moment he came out of the pulpit." (Mém. Histoire de France, anno 1609.) All the sermons of those times are filled with expressions, whose boldness and singularity, not to call them by a worse name, would be extremely shocking to us at present. The reformed were outrageous in their satires; and too often the preachers, in their sermons, launched out into the most extravagant declamations. A contemporary historian, Peter Matthieu (book iii.), nevertheless gives this testimony of the Jesuits: "That there was more regularity, modesty, gravity, and moderation in their sermons, than in many others." Sauval, also, speaking of Father Gonthier's preaching, greatly commends his elo-

for these two gentlemen being present at the reprimand the king gave Father Gonthier, they likewise spoke to the father, and charged with insolence and falsehood the person who had dared to say they had approved of a discourse so full of impertinence. All this so irritated Henry against the impostor, that when I went the next day to desire he would do me justice, "I have discovered the whole mystery," said he to me; "it is the malicious wit of N—— that has invented all these stories; but, for your sake, I banish him from the court." And the order was accordingly signified to him. This affair was much talked of, as may be well imagined: I confess I was ten whole days in perplexity and uneasiness about it.

This, however, was a trifle, compared with the confusion which the Prince of Condé occasioned. The marriage of this prince with Mademoiselle de Montmorency was so far from stifling the reports at court of an intrigue between Henry and the princess, that it did but the more increase them, as I had always apprehended it would. Two thousand crowns given by his majesty for wedding clothes for the young lady; jewels to the value of eighteen thousand livres, purchased for her by Madame d'Angoulême, of Messier, a jeweller, who lived upon the Pont au Change, and whose receipt, of the 29th of May, was publicly known; a great number of other presents and gratuities in money, given to the Prince of Condé on account of this marriage, were considered as so many proofs of the correspondence between the king and princess, although, to speak candidly, there was nothing in all this which might not be justified. But as I would avoid,

quence and apostolic zeal. He relates that Henry IV. being one day at the same church of St. Gervais when Father Gonthier was preaching, that preacher, justly scandalised at the irreverence with which he saw the Marchioness of Verneuil, and other ladies of her company, talk, laugh, and endeavour to make his majesty laugh, turned towards that prince, and said to him, "Sire, will you never leave off coming, accompanied by a seraglio, to hear the word of God, and of giving so unedifying an example in this holy place?"—that the king, instead of sending the preacher to the Bastille, as all those ladies begged of him to do, went again the next day to hear him preach; and that meeting with him as he was going into the pulpit, he told him that he was obliged to him for his correction, and that he had nothing to fear; but only desired he would not reprove him again in public.

likewise, falling into the other extreme with the flatterers of this prince, who affected to maintain in public that he had not the least regard for the young princess, I continue firm in my first sentiments. This, indeed, was a medium between both which very few persons kept. The queen and the Prince of Condé, who were most concerned in the affair, being inflamed with rage at all these reports continually whispered in their ears, soon put the whole court into an uproar. All my endeavours to calm the queen were fruitless; she was quite furious, and the prince, who did not restrain himself from showing his discontent publicly, meditated from that moment the imprudent step which he took some time afterwards.

Henry received the first notice of his design in a note which was sent him to Fontainebleau, whither he went to pass the Easter holidays, and he despatched it immediately to me at Paris. This was the purport of it: that the prince, accompanied by his physician, had left Fontainebleau the day after Easter, and gone to lodge at Paris in the house of a Spanish pensionary; that all the night had been passed in deliberating, with great agitation on the prince's side, whether he should not make his retreat instantly to Spain, which his host had prevented him from doing, by making him sensible of the fatal consequences that would attend such an action; that the next morning a purse of one thousand doubloons was brought to the prince, who still lay concealed at that house, with an assurance that the remainder, which was apparently solicited for by his physician, should be sent him in a little time. This man has been accused of managing the whole affair, because he had already laboured to get the marriage broken off, and make up a match between the prince and Mademoiselle de Mayenne. He was likewise, it was said, connected with another physician, a Genoese, who had been with Don John, and six weeks before had gone to the Count Spinola, at the Hague, from whence he was to go to England. This note agreed with another which had been sent to Beringhen, already mentioned, where it was said that the Prince of Condé had obtained letters from the King of England to the States of Holland.

All these informations, which Henry was entreated by the authors to keep very secret, could not make him believe the

prince was capable of committing so great an error. His majesty came to Paris in the beginning of May, and, after a short stay, returned to Fontainebleau, whither the prince followed him. It is certain that his behaviour and his discourse in public gave room to believe that he only went to brave his majesty. "My friend," said Henry in a letter to me, dated June the 12th, "the prince is here; but he acts like a man possessed: you will be angry and ashamed at the things he says of me: I shall lose all patience with him at last, and I am resolved to talk to him with severity." The king, to punish him, ordered me not to pay him the April quarter of his pension, and to give refusals to his purveyor and all his creditors, who, knowing the gratuities which his majesty had bestowed upon this prince on occasion of his marriage, addressed themselves to me as the dispenser of them. "If this does not keep him within bounds," said his majesty, "we must think of some other method; for he says the most injurious things of me. We will consider together what is to be done when you come hither."*

The prince fixed upon me to impart his grievances to; but in what quality it is not easy for me to declare; since, if I may flatter myself that my advice was not indifferent to him, yet, on the other hand, I may have reason to suspect that in those assurances of respect and attachment with which one seeks to soften the freedom of disapproving the conduct of a person of his rank, he sought for a pretence to advance afterwards, with some appearance of probability, that I did

* The Memoirs for the History of France speak of this in the following manner: "The king being desperately in love with the Princess of Condé, set everybody at work, even her husband's mother." The prince complained of this, and desired leave of his majesty to retire with his wife to one of his country houses. The king refused his request in a rude manner, and went so far as to affront and threaten him. It is said the prince made a haughty reply, and used the word *tyranny*; that the king, laying hold of that word, said, "I never in my life was guilty of an act of tyranny but when I caused you to be received for what you were not." The prince was in a passion with his mother for suffering herself to be employed as an instrument to corrupt the chastity of his wife. It was said that the Marchioness of Verneuil, who commonly spoke to the king not as to her master, but as she would to her footman, bantering him on this subject, said, "Are not you a sad wretch, who want to lie with your son's wife? for you know you have told me he is your son."

not oppose his design of leaving the kingdom. It is this which obliges me to give an account of the conversation I had with him at my house, whither he came on Wednesday afternoon, when he knew I was not gone to the council.

He entered my closet, bearing in his countenance all the marks of the disturbance of his mind. I was not surprised that, without any other prelude, he began to talk to me of the reasons he had to complain of the king. In my answer, I reminded him of the many obligations his family in general owed to the king; and added, that himself in particular had received favours from his majesty, which not only deserved that he should sacrifice to them a little resentment, conceived upon a mere suspicion and an imaginary wrong, but also a just discontent. The prince, who could not relish my arguments, entertained me with I know not how many designs he supposed Henry had formed against him, all which I attributed to the inquietude of his mind, and to suspicions carried too far; and these I thought to dissipate, by representing to him, in such a manner as left him no room to doubt of my sincerity, that his majesty was so far from having a design to proceed to any extremities with him, that he would reflect that he was his near kinsman only to add to that natural sweetness with which he treated everybody a particular friendship and distinguishing respect for him. And I remember, that instead of allowing, through complaisance for the prince, that Henry was capable of *oppressing an innocent person*, words which were indeed often repeated to me, I told him plainly that it was commonly those who were most guilty that abused the word innocence, notwithstanding which they could not avoid meeting with the punishment they merited.

The prince, who, after so free a speech, ought to have been upon his guard against me, did not scruple to declare that he was resolved to leave France. These imprudent words appeared to me as the effects only of an inconsiderate rage; and, if I opposed him with firmness, it was because I thought that on these occasions firmness ought to accompany the advice which is given. I told him that I could not believe he was capable of betraying, in such a manner, his king, his country, his honour, and his duty; that the kingdom, and even the court, was the only fit residence for princes of

the blood; that everywhere else their grandeur sullied their reputation; that it was even imputed to them as a crime to remain too long in any other place, without having obtained his majesty's permission for it. The prince replying that such a restraint suited neither with his birth nor rank, I answered that the laws of the State obliged the children and brothers of the king to as great, or perhaps greater strictness of conduct than the meanest of his subjects; and this I proved to him by examples drawn from the history of Louis XI., the late Duke of Anjou, and of Henry himself. It was not in this manner that the prince wished to hear me speak. I perceived that his intention was now, by giving a new turn to his words, to convince me that I had brought him over to my opinion; but, from so sudden an alteration, I drew the most certain proof that he had really taken that very resolution which his last words would have persuaded me he had absolutely given up.

I had so little doubt of it, that when I was informed the prince, after he quitted me, appeared to be wholly calmed, that he had even complained to the queen of the report that was spread of his having a design to quit the court, and assured this princess that he had not the least intention to do so, adding these words, "I am very well contented with his majesty," and spoke in the same manner almost publicly, I would not defer a moment waiting on the king, whom I assured, after faithfully relating all that had passed between the prince and myself, that he would not be in France eight days longer. Henry was ready to treat me as a madman, there was so little appearance, he said, that he could live in a foreign country like a prince, without the assistance he received from him; since it was impossible he should be able to carry away any of his effects so privately but that he might be easily prevented. To these reasons his majesty added what the prince had just said to the queen. "All that you tell me, Sire," replied I, "cannot make me alter my opinion; but rather confirms me in it the more. You may be angry with me, and accuse me of obstinacy; but time and the event will show you that I am not mistaken. I see several persons," pursued I, "who are in the secret, and who deceive you, although they are more obliged to you than

the prince; but this ought not to seem surprising, since you help to deceive yourself." "You do not name any person," said his majesty, supposing that it was the queen's domestics of whom I spoke, but I know whom you mean." This was not very difficult to discover. There were more, besides the king and myself, who saw that the cabal played a strange part here; for they not only spread a thousand false stories about the king and the Princess of Condé through the court, affirming them to be absolutely true, which was indeed the effect of their ordinary malice, but to these they added that detestable artifice, not easy to be described, by which they made these falsehoods serve to render the king in the highest degree hateful to the queen, and forced this princess to abandon herself entirely to their conduct. Hence proceeded those plots to which, without her knowledge, they dared to give the authority of her name; hence the motives for a thousand new solicitations not to defer the ceremony of the coronation any longer.

There was but an interval of four days between the conversation I had with the king, on the subject of the Prince of Condé, and the flight of that prince. On the 29th of August,* at eleven o'clock at night, Praslin entered my

* The last of November, not the 29th of August, as these Memoirs erroneously say, "the prince," says Marshal de Bassompierre, "left the court and went to Muret, which he quitted, accompanied by Rochefort and Touray, a valet-de-chambre, who carried the princess his wife behind him on horseback, Mademoiselle du Certeau, and a chamber-maid called Philippette, and went to Landrecy. The king was at play in his little closet when first D'Elbene, and afterwards the chevalier du guet, brought him the news of it. I was nearest to him. He said to me in a whisper, 'My friend Bassompierre, I am undone; this man has carried his wife into a wood, I do not know whether with design to kill her, or to carry her out of France; take care of my money, and go on with the game whilst I go to learn more particular news.' Everybody gave over play, and I took an opportunity of returning the king his money which he had left on the table. I went to him, and never in my life saw any one so distracted, or in so violent a passion." Bassompierre afterwards relates what passed in the queen's chamber, and the advice M. de Sully gave the king, in the same manner these Memoirs do. Henry IV. betrayed such violent signs of grief and despair on the Princess of Condé's being thus carried away, that some ill-informed writers, such as the author of l'Histoire de la Mère et du Fils,

chamber just as I was going to bed; he told me that the king wanted me, and that I must attend him immediately. "What can the king mean, cousin?" said I, in the first emotions of my anger, and without giving him time to explain himself. "*Pardieu*, he torments me to death; I cannot live; I cannot sleep. I must," pursued I with great impatience, supposing that this summons was one of those which, for very good reasons, I might dispense with myself from obeying, "I must rise at three o'clock to-morrow morning to read letters and accounts which I have received, and must be answered immediately; I must make a memorandum of all that I am to do to-morrow, of what is to be transacted by the council, of what I am to say to the king, what directions I am to give my clerks, my secretaries, and all those who have any offices under me. I cannot get all this done before eight o'clock in the morning, at which hour I go to the council; judge then whether I have any time to lose, and if I can go now to the Louvre, from whence I know it will be impossible for me to return till two or three hours after midnight. I shall have no leisure for employing myself in my closet, for the whole day will be taken up in giving audience, and in conferences with the clerks of accounts and other officers, who have business with me." "I know all this," said Praslin, "nor is the king ignorant of it; for he said aloud, before all the company, that I should make you angry by coming for you at such an unseasonable hour, and at the only time when you have leisure to take any rest to relieve both your body and mind; but there is no help for it, sir; you must come. This is an affair that concerns him nearly, and he is persuaded that if there is any remedy for the evil, it is you only who can discover it. The man you know of is fled, as, the king says, you foretold; and, what is worse, he has taken the lady along with him." "Oh," replied I, "is this the business, then, for which he has sent for me? Truly there will be a little anger on his side; for I doubt we shall not agree in our opinions. I know," added I, "that Mars and Venus are often in very good intelligence; yet, if

have advanced, that the war he was going to enter upon in Flanders, when he was assassinated, was partly intended to oblige the archduke to deliver up that princess to him. (See also Mezerai and other historians.)

we would have good success in affairs that depend upon the former, the latter must sometimes yield to him; and this possibly may furnish us with some good reason for hastening our business; therefore let us go, cousin; I am ready."

When I came to the Louvre, I found the king in the queen's chamber, walking backwards and forwards, with his head reclined, and his hands folded behind his back; with the queen were present Messieurs de Sillery, de Villeroy, de Gêvres, de la Force, La Varenne, and some others, leaning against the hangings, and at such a distance from each other that they could not converse but aloud. "Well," said Henry, taking my hand as soon as I entered, "our man is gone, and has carried all with him; what say you to this?" "I say, Sire," I replied, "that I am not surprised to hear it; and after what he said to me at the Arsenal, I expected this flight, which you might have prevented if you would have believed me." "I knew you would say this," replied the king; "but we must not speak of things that are past; let us think only of the future, and let us consider what is to be done now. Give me your advice, for I have yet applied to no other person." "Sire," returned I, "I am not yet sufficiently well informed of all the circumstances relating to this affair, and have not reflected as much upon it as is necessary I should; I entreat you to let me sleep upon it, and to-morrow I will attend you, and will endeavour to give you the best advice I can; but if you press me now, I shall say nothing to the purpose, for my judgment is not very clear at present." "No?" interrupted his majesty; "this is not true; I know you too well; tell me your thoughts immediately." "It is impossible, Sire," said I; "and if you persist in pressing me so earnestly, I repeat it again, I shall say nothing to the purpose; I beseech you excuse me till to-morrow." "Indeed I will not," said Henry; "you must speak now: now, therefore, tell me what I should do." "Nothing at all, Sire," I replied, for I was obliged to speak. "How! nothing?" he exclaimed; "this is not advice." "Pardon me, Sire," I resumed, "it is, and the best that you can follow: there are maladies which require time rather than remedies, and I believe this to be of such a nature." "This declamation is unseasonable," said Henry, with the same impatience; "I must have reasons. Are these yours?"

"I have no good ones, Sire," answered I, "if these are contrary to your inclinations. In my opinion, however, the affair does not admit of much doubt about what should be done; it is necessary to wait for further particulars before anything is undertaken, that you may fix upon the best expedients; and, till then, I think it ought to be talked of as little as possible; nor should it appear of any consequence to you, or capable of giving you the least uneasiness."

I supported this opinion by a reflection which seemed to me absolutely just; and this was, that the good or bad reception which the Spaniards would give the prince depended upon the impression his flight made upon the king; so that it was not impossible but that they would receive the prince with contempt, to spare the expenses they would otherwise be obliged to, especially if we could make them entertain a suspicion that this flight of the Prince of Condé was a thing concerted between his majesty and him. "What," said the king, shaking his head, "would you that I should suffer a petty prince, my neighbour, to give a retreat contrary to my inclinations to the first prince of my blood, without showing any resentment of it? This is fine advice indeed! I shall not follow it. Praslin shall set out* in a few days to signify my intentions." "I told you, Sire," said I, "that not having

* "Praslin actually went; but the archduke made answer that he had never violated the law of nations on any occasion whatever; and that he would, on no consideration, begin in the case of the first prince of the blood royal of France: and soon after sent the prince a sum of money, and an escort to conduct him to Brussels." (Mém. pour l'Histoire de France, anno 1609.) The Marshal de Bassompierre in his Memoirs says the archduke was so much staggered with M. de Praslin's declaration, that he sent to desire the prince would only pass through his dominions, without making any stay in them, though he had before promised to receive him; but that afterwards he again changed his resolution by the advice of the Marquis Spinola, and treated the prince with the highest honours. (Bassompierre's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 28.) Father Daniel, in his History of France, in quarto, vol. x. p. 437, has thrown new lights on this incident, from the letters in the library of the Abbé d'Estrées, by which it appears that Henry IV. secretly sent the Marquis of Cœuvres to Brussels to endeavour to carry off the Princess of Condé, and that the attempt miscarried only by the king having discovered this design to the queen, who immediately despatched a courier to inform the Marquis Spinola of it; on which the Princess of Condé was removed into an apartment in the archduke's palace.

considered this affair, I should say nothing to your satisfaction. Another thought has just occurred, which will not be of any prejudice to what you purpose to do; but I cannot tell it you till two days hence: however, I am sure you will be better satisfied with it than my first proposal." His majesty consented to this delay, and embracing me, said, "Return home and go to bed; sleep till eight o'clock: for I had rather the council should not be held to-morrow, and my ordinary affairs be postponed one day, than your health should suffer the smallest prejudice."

I was not deceived in my conjecture, that the other proposal I had to make to his majesty concerning the prince's retreat into Flanders, would please him better than the former. He came to the Arsenal three days after to know it. We continued shut up an hour in my closet: but it is not proper to reveal what passed there on the subject. The king, at parting, said aloud, "Adieu, my friend; stay at home and finish my business: but above all, labour for the success of the proposal you have made me; for I approve of it much more than the advice you gave me in my wife's chamber at the Louvre."

The Prince of Condé, thinking it necessary to justify his late action, sent a letter* some days afterwards to the king.

* "The prince wrote to the king that it was with the utmost regret, and in order to preserve his life and honour only, that he had retired from the court, and not with any intention ever to be otherwise than his majesty's humble relation, faithful subject, and servant. He adds, 'I will never engage in anything contrary to your majesty's service, unless I am compelled to it; and beg you will not take it amiss if I refuse to see or receive any letters which shall be written to me from court by any one whatever, except those your majesty may be pleased to honour me with.'" (Mem. for the History of France, anno 1610.) Siri, who gives a very minute account of this retreat of the Prince of Condé in the Mem. recond. (vol. ii. p. 82 et seq.), adds many other particulars to those here mentioned; but the greatest part of them, in my opinion, deserve little credit: as where he rashly asserts, on the foundation of popular report, that the only motive that induced Henry IV. to undertake the war against the Spaniards was to oblige them to send back the Princess of Condé; and that finding them, in spite of his menaces, persist in refusing so to do, he repented of having pushed matters so far. He adds a reflection on the honour of that princess, as if she had been a party concerned in this design against her husband, whom she disliked on account of a natural or acquired

He likewise sent another at the same time to M. de Thou, much fuller and more circumstantial, in which, among other things, he insinuated that I was the cause of his leaving France. "He ought to accuse his own malice, and that of many other persons who advised him to it," said the king, "and not you. I desire you will write to him, and give him a fair representation of all that has passed; and that you will tell him with the respect due to his rank, not to his person, the plain truth, and the misery he will infallibly expose himself to, if he does not return to his duty." "I will go home then, Sire," said I (for we were then at the constable's house), "and draw up the heads of my letter, and will bring it to you." "No, no," replied his majesty, "you must write here; I will make them bring you ink and paper." "But, sire," I resumed, "this letter is of consequence: it is necessary I should reflect well upon it, and examine it attentively before I send it; for if I write what will satisfy you, I must also consider what suits with the prince's rank and my own, that no person, either in France or elsewhere, nor himself, who, you see, seeks for occasions to accuse and blame me, may find anything there to authorise him. I am not prepared to write so suddenly." Notwithstanding all I could allege in my excuse, I was obliged to write this letter instantly in his majesty's presence, and at one end of the table near which we were sitting. This letter, though written so hastily, was approved of by the king; and here follow the contents:

I began first with complaining to the prince, that, after believing he had respect enough for me not to make me a visit with any other intention than to ask my advice, he

infirmity, which would have been sufficient to annul their marriage; that she was extremely desirous to return to France; that, during her residence at Brussels, she continued to receive letters of gallantry from Henry IV.; that the Prince of Condé was so well acquainted with her disposition in regard to him, that he could not conceal his resentment at it; and that, on his return, he talked publicly of obtaining a divorce from her. The greatest truth Siri speaks on this subject is, that the king obstinately rejected all the rational advice given him on this occasion by the nuncio, some of his councillors, and particularly the Duke of Sully, whom he also commends for his resolute and free manner of speaking and writing to the Prince of Condé.

should now give me occasion to suspect that visit was only to draw me into the commission of some error or imprudence. As to the rest, he knew better than any one else how much in vain he had laid that snare for me; and here I related (less for him than the public) all that had passed in the conversation we had together at the Arsenal, which the reader has already seen. After this I owned to him, without any disguise, that having, notwithstanding all his art, penetrated into his design, I had informed the king of it, who might have prevented him from executing it if he had believed me, or been less good and indulgent. I made no apologies to the prince for the advice I had given to his majesty against him, since it was for the good of the State, for the king's advantage, and for his own, however little he might attend to it. I laid before his eyes the consequences of the imprudent step he had taken: I asked him what he had to expect from the archdukes and the Spaniards, who, considering him as a useless burden upon them, would insult him by their haughty and insolent behaviour, and secretly applaud themselves for it? I conjured him to reflect on what he owed to the consideration of his honour, his virtue, his birth, and duty; and exhorted him to implore the king's pardon as soon as possible. To these entreaties I added offers of service, which would prove to him my zeal for his interest and attachment to his person.

It will be easily granted that such a letter was very extraordinary from a man who, in the supposition of having connived at his flight, might have been struck dumb with a single word in answer from one of so high a rank as first prince of the blood. Yet I went further: I told the prince that the civilities, praises, and acknowledgments with which he had loaded me at the Arsenal, were, to my great regret, but ill repaid by the necessity his letter had reduced me to, of declaring the truth in such a manner as perhaps he might think inconsistent with the respect I owed him: that he ought, in his own mind, to render me that justice I deserved; but that he would now be convinced that the first step any man takes contrary to his duty, by a necessary consequence makes him violate all the laws of sincerity; lastly, that whatever his intention might be in thus endeavouring to involve me in his crime, I had always held it my glory and

my honour to be thus treated by the enemies of the king and the State; and implored Heaven to inspire the prince with such sentiments as might efface all remembrance of a fault which had, with too much justice, deserved those two epithets. This letter was published;* but it produced no answer, which entirely destroyed, even in the opinions of my enemies themselves, all suspicions arising from the prince's insinuations.

A dispute arose between Villeroy and De Fresne, on account of the letters† which the king ordered to be sent into the provinces, two days after the flight of the prince, to signify his intentions concerning this event. Villeroy composed a form for these letters, which he would have had all the other secretaries of state follow. De Fresne thought the expressions he used unworthy of the dignity of him from whom they were supposed to proceed, which indeed was true; and, as he was generally allowed to write quite as well as his brother secretary, he was afraid of some cavils by sending this letter, as written by himself, to those persons with whom, by his office, he was connected. He imparted his perplexity to me, and entreated me to extricate him out of it.

I have nothing to say concerning the affairs of the Protestant body, except that they happily supported themselves against all the calumnies which were invented against them, and which they brought even to his majesty's ear, by advices and discourses of all kinds. A letter was addressed to the king, dated the 31st of July, supposed to be written from Rochelle, in a counterfeit hand, and falsely signed Emmanuel

* "The Prince of *** refused to receive the letters the Duke of Sully wrote to him, telling those who brought them that he would receive nothing that came from him." (L'Etoile, ibid.)

† In vol. 9772 of the Royal MSS. we find the summons delivered to the Prince of Condé at Brussels in the month of February, 1610, by Messrs. de Berny and Manicamp, in the king's name, requiring him to return to France, under the penalty of becoming guilty of high treason; and the prince's refusal to obey it. The parliament passed an arrêt against him, by which he was condemned to undergo whatever punishment his majesty should think fit to inflict on him. Henry IV. went in person to the parliament to solicit the passing of this arrêt; and, as a mark of his grief, he went without state or train: he sat down in the chief president's place without canopy or footstool, the hall being only guarded by the ushers of the parliament, instead of the king's officers.

de la Faye, in which his majesty was informed, that, in an assembly held at St. Maixans, the minister of Blois, who was called Viguier, had presented a book, entitled *The Theatre of Antichrist*,* scandalous, it was said, and outrageous to the last degree: that, in this assembly, it was resolved the book should be printed, after it had been examined by the Academy of Saumur; and that it was then actually in the press, notwithstanding his majesty's public prohibition.

This letter† is filled with so many minute particulars and passion and prejudice appear everywhere so strongly in it, that the reader will not, I believe, be displeased at my suppressing it. The author certainly flattered himself that he should make it be believed that the Rochellers fortified their city upon a supposition that they should soon have a siege to sustain; and that an assembly was held at Marseilles, to oblige the king to call a convocation of the states of the kingdom. Du Plessis was, as they alleged, the author of these plots, all absolutely without foundation, except indeed some murmurs against the *gabelle* in Mirebalais and Loudunois, in which, however, a very small number of Protestants had any part. With regard to Du Plessis, he was the very man who sent the first information of it to his majesty; and I thought myself obliged in honour, though my enemy, as till then he had shown himself to be, to give testimony to his innocence, when I convinced the king, who insisted upon my taking a journey into Poitou to repress the rebellious designs of the Protestants, that his real enemies endeavoured to keep themselves concealed by branding those with that guilt who did not deserve it. Du Plessis thanked me in a long letter, which contained a justification, in form, against all the heads of the accusation.

The following information, which was given me by a gentleman of unquestioned honour, appeared to me more circumstantial, and more worthy of attention. In one of the streets of

* The supplement to the Journal of Henry IV., printed in 1736, takes notice of this book, and says that Father Gonthier, in a sermon he preached before the king, having made violent invectives on this account against the Huguenots, the king reprimanded him, and ordered the book to be suppressed, which, in reality, has never appeared since. (Anno 1609.)

† It is to be seen in the folio Sully's Memoirs, vol. iv. p. 335.

La Flèche called Rue des Quatre Vents, and near an inn with a sign of the same name, there had lodged, for some months, a man whose name was Médor, a native of Avranches, with a widow called Jane Huberson, who boarded scholars of reputable families that were under the care of Médor. A niece of this widow, about twenty-six years of age, named Rachel Renaud, who lived with her aunt, and a cousin likewise called Huberson, going one day into Médor's study, found a book there which excited her curiosity: it was finely gilt, very thick, and neatly tied with blue and carnation ribbons. She opened it, and saw that half of it was written partly with ink and partly with blood; that it was full of signatures, almost all in blood, among which, surprised as she was, she distinguished that of Médor, of a man named Du Noyer, who lived in a village in the neighbourhood of Paris, near Villeroy, and of another man named Du Cross, from Billon in Auvergne, who had formerly belonged to the Duke of Mercœur. These two men she knew, because they had often come to visit their lodger.

As she was going out of the closet, with an intention to carry this book to her aunt, she met Médor, who, snatching it out of her hands, asked her, in a rage, what she was going to do with it. She told him ingenuously, that it was so pretty she was desirous her aunt should see it; and then asked him the meaning of those signatures in blood, which she had seen in it. Médor, fearing she had carried her curiosity so far as to examine the writing at the end of which those names were subscribed, and which contained an association of conspirators against the king's person, told her that it was an oath, which, for the interest of their religion, a great many zealous Catholics had taken to continue faithfully attached to the pope. This answer did not hinder the girl from speaking of the book to her aunt and cousin, who were the only Protestants in the house. They thought the discovery of such consequence, that, after getting all the information they could from the girl of what she had seen, they related it to the person who gave me notice of it, with all the circumstances necessary to make a fuller discovery.

The book was immediately taken out of Médor's chamber, and carried, as Huberson and the girl believed, to Du Cross, whose direction they gave. He lodged with a man named

Druillet, who lived in a house without the city, near the gate of St. Germain, on the right side. With this Druillet several children of quality boarded, and particularly from the province of Brittany; because he likewise had been in the Duke of Mercœur's service. Du Cross was the soul of this cabal. An assembly at the Jesuits' College, in which he held one of the chief places, and where he was often employed to deliver public discourses, gave him all the opportunities he could desire to associate a great number of persons in his black designs: and here it was that he became acquainted with Médor and Du Noyer.

To these informations were added all those I was able to obtain myself. The morning after I received the note, which was on October the 19th, I sent a person, on whom I could safely depend, to search to the bottom of this affair; but although all his discoveries served to confirm what had been written to me, and that the girl herself offered to maintain her deposition before any person who should choose to hear her, and even in his majesty's presence, the credit and artifice of those who were concerned in this accusation were exerted with such success, that an affair, which certainly merited a further examination, was buried in silence. Domestic dissensions and intestine plots were the two evils which pursued Henry, after he had extricated himself from the dangers of war, till the last moment of his life. The Count of Auvergne continued still imprisoned in the Bastille: he obtained permission of his majesty to be removed for a change of air; on account of his indisposition, and he was carried to a pavilion on the water, which was at the end of the Arsenal; but guards were placed upon him during the whole time he stayed there. He also obtained leave to speak to the Sieur de Châteaumorand.

Henry's health was this year only interrupted with some slight fits of the gout. He did not drink the waters, they being no longer of any use to him. The dauphin, and all the children of France, enjoyed likewise a good state of health. Henry made as long a stay as usual at Fontainebleau: he passed the whole autumn there, after a short excursion to Monceaux, and returned to Paris at the beginning of winter.

# BOOK XXVII.

[1609—1610.]

Foreign affairs—Treaty for a truce between Spain and the United Provinces, and of the mediation of the Kings of France and England—Article in favour of the Prince of Epinoy—Henry obliges the grand-duke of Tuscany to make him reparation for the affront offered to his ambassador—Other affairs of Germany, Italy, and Switzerland—Death of the Duke of Cleves—An historical and political memorial upon the disputes for this succession—The German princes put themselves under the protection of Henry IV.—A conversation between Henry and the Duke of Sully upon this subject, and upon the execution of the great design—Henry entertains suspicions of Sully—Success of the negotiations in the several courts of Europe—Henry's indiscretion in disclosing his designs—Conversations between the king and his minister upon this expedition—A council of regency established, and other preparations within and without the kingdom—Presages of the approaching death of Henry IV.—Conversations between him and Sully upon this subject—Information of a conspiracy, and the affair of Mademoiselle de Coman—Ceremony of the queen's coronation—Parricide committed on the person of Henry the Great—Sully's behaviour on receiving the news of it—Particulars of this assassination, and upon some of the latter days of Henry's life.

ALL that remains for me to say of the transactions of this year relates to foreign affairs, which I shall begin with those of the United Provinces. In the month of April the king granted them the sum of three hundred thousand livres. Préaux was sent to the States with this agreeable news, and I received orders from his majesty to send the money to Dieppe, where it was to be shipped on board a vessel belonging to the Republic. Henry thought himself obliged to reward, by this last instance of his bounty, the respect the council of the United Provinces had shown for him, in giving him the principal part in their accommodation with Spain;

for in this year was at length concluded the truce,* which had been so long in agitation, and equally desired by all, even by those who at first appeared most against it: and the Prince of Orange himself at last agreed to it.

I shall not here transcribe the treaty which was drawn up at the Hague, the usual place for holding the conferences; but only that of the intervention of the kings of France and England as guarantees for the execution of it. This piece is dated June 27, 1609, and signed, as the former, at the Hague, in the presence of Messire Peter Jeannin, chevalier, baron of Changy and Montreu, one of the councillors of his most Christian majesty in his council of state, and his ambassador extraordinary to the States; and of Messire Elie de la Place, chevalier, lord of Russy, viscount of Machaut, member of the king's council of state, gentleman in ordinary of his bedchamber, and his ambassador in ordinary; both of them in the name of, and as having authority from, the most high, most powerful, and most excellent prince, Henry IV. &c. Afterwards followed the names of his Britannic majesty's two ministers, with the same titles of ambassadors in ordinary and extraordinary; and after them the names of the councillors and ministers of the several provinces of the Low Countries, with a reciprocal obligation to cause the contents of the said treaty to be ratified, within two months, by the respective parties.

The intervention and guarantee are expressed in the following manner: that the two kings, notwithstanding all their endeavours, having been unable to procure a firm and solid peace between the two belligerent powers, had at length proposed to them a long truce, to which likewise many obstacles were raised, which would probably have blasted the scheme, if their majesties, for the good of the parties, and the security of their states, had not consented to become guarantees and securities for it; and therefore that they promised, and engaged themselves, to assist the United Provinces with all their forces, not only in case of any in-

* It will be proper, as well on the negotiations of this famous truce as on all the affairs of Flanders mentioned in these Memoirs, to consult the volumes of the King's MSS. marked 9759, 9981, 9005; Le Merc. Franç.; Matthieu; Vittorio Siri; and the particular histories of that republic.

fraction of the truce by Spain, but also if their trade to the Indies should be interrupted, or suffer the least injury, either from his Catholic majesty, the archdukes, their officers, or their subjects. This extended as well as to those whom the States thought proper to associate with them in this trade, as to the countries where it was carried on; provided, however, that the republic did not pretend to be judges themselves of the injuries they received in this respect, but left them to the decision of their majesties in a common council, wherein they were to be allowed a vote: in case the judgment should be too long delayed, they were to give orders in the mean time for the security of their subjects. That, in consequence of which, the contracting parties should renew and confirm the private treaties made the preceding year; one on the 23rd of January, between France and the United Provinces; and another on the 26th of June, between England and the same Provinces, by applying to the truce the same agreements, promises, and obligations which these treaties expressed during the continuance of a peace, which was then believed to be upon the point of concluding. That, in acknowledgment for the guarantee of the two mediating kings, and for the assistance which the States-General had received from them, they engaged to make no treaty or agreement with the archdukes during the twelve years of the truce, without the advice and consent of their majesties, who promised, on their side, not to enter into any alliance prejudicial to the liberty and safety of their friends and allies: for these were the titles given by the two princes to the States.

The archdukes, that they might not give offence to the King of Spain, refused their consent to its being mentioned in the treaty for a truce, that the Dutch should be secured in their trade to the Indies: they only undertook of their own accord, acting under his Catholic majesty, to allow the exercise of it: therefore the republic, who sought a security against a new breach of faith from the Spaniards, had it, at last, made one of the positive articles of the treaty for the mediation of the kings of France and England. Henry was not sorry that, since the war between Spain and Flanders was to end, it should end in this manner.

I ought not to omit mentioning an obligation which, on

this occasion, I received, rather indeed from Henry than the council of the United Provinces, which regarded my nephews D'Epinoy. His majesty, who had often listened to my complaints of the injustice which these children had suffered from the Count and Countess of Ligne, and who, from the time that they were brought to me in France, had given them many proofs of his kindness, which, I believe, I have mentioned somewhere or other in these Memoirs, was desirous of doing something more for them. Jeannin* had orders to confer with the Archduke Albert upon their affairs, to endeavour to engage him in their interest, and to do them justice. Either he or Caumartin delivered to this prince a memorial which I had drawn up, and which explained the claims the family of Epinoy had to the succession of that of Melun. The archduke's answer, which he sent the king in the year 1601, gave me reason to hope for success. Accordingly, this prince, finding that his majesty interested himself in the affair, took so much part in it, that, by a provisional agreement, my nephew D'Epinoy,† who by the death of his brother was the sole heir, obtained a restitution of great part of those effects which had been forfeited by his father. This agreement, which, through the interest of the king and the archduke, became a writing of great importance, was afterwards the best the Princess of Ligne‡ could make use of to prove that all the rest of this estate, which she had not been deprived of, had been granted to her.

I thought of an expedient to put an end to these evasions and artifices, which was to obtain the consent of the council of the United Provinces to insert, in their treaty of truce, an article by which this question was decided in favour of

* There is a letter in the cabinet of the present Duke of Sully, from the late duke to the president Jeannin, in which, after taking notice of the then state of affairs of the United Provinces, and those of Cleves, he recommends the interest of his nephew, the Prince of Epinoy, to him. This letter is too long to be here transcribed; it is dated at Fontainebleau, the 15th of June, 1609.

† William de Melun, Prince of Epinoy, &c. He had many other brothers, who either died young or without issue. He has been spoken of before.

‡ Mary de Melun, lady of Roubais, d'Antoing, &c., wife of Lamoral, the first Prince of Ligne, governor of Artois, knight of the Golden Fleece.

the young D'Epinoy. My request, which I made privately, was granted with great willingness; the article was inserted, and expressed, that upon the refusal which the Princess of Ligne had given to the council of the United Provinces to make a restitution of the estates of the house of Epinoy, which she unjustly enjoyed, two arbitrators should be named for his most Christian majesty, and two for the archdukes, who should meet at Vervins to give a definitive judgment: that if the votes were divided, they should appoint an umpire; and, if they could not agree upon the choice, his most Christian majesty should be this umpire, to whose sentence the Princess of Ligne, and all the other respective heirs, should submit; and the archdukes, of whom these estates were held, should permit the execution of it: and that, in the mean time, the estates of the house of Vassenard, and all others belonging to the Prince of Epinoy, within the extent of the Dutch Provinces, should be restored to him.

The Princess of Ligne used her utmost endeavours to elude the decision. This last clause depriving her of all hope, she appealed to the agreement before mentioned. She alleged that part of those estates which were required of her, being in the province of Holland, had been charged with heavy taxes, for which she demanded compensation. When she found herself pressed, she affected to abate of her obstinacy, and only requested that the affair might be terminated by any other method than a rigorous judgment, and proposed several herself, especially when she perceived that her nephew was inclined to purchase an agreement with her by the sacrifice of some of his just claims. The archduke seemed to enter with her into all the expedients that could be thought of to make me desist; for I was the person whom, on this occasion, they looked upon to be the real adversary. A marriage was proposed between my nephew and the Princess of Ligne's second daughter. This expedient was happily enough imagined, if the mother had been a reasonable woman; but she would not give this daughter a portion equal to that she had given with the eldest. I left it to her choice, either to resign twenty-five thousand livres a year to D'Epinoy, as a portion for her daughter, or to make him a restitution of his whole estate. Though my nephew, by this offer, lost considerably, yet it was rejected

with disdain. The remainder of the year was passed in making and refusing propositions, which all amounted to nothing.

There was again a necessity that his majesty should interpose, which he had the goodness to do, by writing a letter, dated October 19, to the archduke, in which he complained of the Princess of Ligne's proceedings, and of the little solicitude he himself showed for the fulfilling that article of the treaty relating to the Prince of Epinoy. As to the agreement which Madame de Ligne laid such stress upon, the king observed that, besides that nothing can be opposed to a determination recorded in a treaty made between sovereigns, it was the opinion of his council, and conformable to the laws of his kingdom, that the authority of any prince which is added to a contract should not hinder the subject who is injured by it from claiming his right. He desired him to hear what Berny* and Préaux† had to say, whom he had ordered to acquaint him with every circumstance of the affair; and, repeating his solicitations in favour of D'Epinoy, he declared that he would answer for the fidelity and obedience of his new vassal. He owned that D'Epinoy was willing to purchase an agreement and union with his aunt, at the expense of a small part of his estate; but that he himself had been one of the first to advise him not to listen to her while she continued to be so unreasonable in her demands. This letter was more in the style of a friend than a king; and in almost all those which Villeroy and Jeannin wrote by his order to the States, the affair of Epinoy was mentioned with great warmth. I likewise urged it on in the letters I wrote to Préaux, from whom, upon this occasion, I received services which I promised him should not go unrewarded.

This year the Duke of Bouillon obtained letters of naturalisation for his children born at Sedan. The king did not observe that in these letters, and in the petition presented on this occasion to the chamber of accounts, Bouillon had assumed the title of sovereign of Sedan, and therefore made no opposition to it by his attorney-general. But his majesty

* Matthew Brulart, lord of Berny, the king's resident at the court of the archduke.

† Hector des Préaux, a Calvinist gentleman, governor of Châtellerault.

repaired this failure by ordering Jérôme l'Huillier, the attorney-general, to demand an act by which it was allowed that his compliance with this petition, and his silence with respect to the titles there assumed, should not injure his rights, if he should be able, at any time, by his papers, claims, or records of the treasury of archives, to make it appear that Sedan was anciently a fief depending on that of Mouson, which was part of the crown lands. This act of the 11th of April is inserted in the registers of the chamber of accounts.

His majesty sent the Duke of Lunenbourg-Brunswick's deputy to me, for the payment of seven thousand crowns, which the king ordered me to give him, without making further inquiry into it, as the sum was so moderate. I obeyed his commands, and at the same time treated the deputy with the utmost degree of politeness. Henry, by such instances of kindness and respect, endeavoured to attach the German princes still more to his interest. I likewise rendered some services to the Duke of Savoy, which produced a letter from this prince to me, and a visit of thanks from M. de Jacop, his ambassador. This deference, added to the visits I was observed to pay to the Duke of Savoy's ambassador in return, appeared to my enemies at court a sufficient foundation for suggesting to the king that the Duke of Savoy made the same use of me as he had done of Marshal Biron. Henry took care not to tell them that he was acquainted with all my proceedings, and approved of them; but thanked them for their information, and wrote me an account of all they had said, desiring me, at the same time, to bring him the last letters I had received from Turin the next time I attended him.

Another attempt was made upon the city of Geneva this year, under the direction of Du Terrail,* the same who has

* Louis de Comboursier, lord du Terrail, a gentleman of Dauphiny, and a relation of Lesdiguières. The Memoirs for the History of France speak of him as Sully's do. "The king," say they, "whose natural subject he was, had granted him four several pardons; but he had no sooner got a pardon in one pocket," as the king said, "but he had a scheme for a plot ready in another." The pardon the king would have granted him would not have saved his life. He and La Bastide, a gentleman of Bourdel, who was taken with him, were beheaded at Geneva on the 29th of April.

been so often mentioned in these Memoirs. He succeeded so ill in it that he was taken prisoner there, and without any form of trial put to death. He was a man of great understanding and courage, but giddy with ambition and absorbed in vice; therefore the king was not concerned that justice had overtaken him. As soon as it was known that he was imprisoned the king was wearied with solicitations in his favour; but the news of his death followed that of his detention so close that his majesty was not long embarrassed. "We have a happy riddance of him," said he to me; "he was a dangerous man: ever since I observed that he left off visiting you, and haunting you as usual, and after that murder* he committed in the view of us both, as we stood together upon the balcony, I lost all hope of him."

The Duke of Florence, after the death of the duke his father,† having sent an ambassador extraordinary to Rome, to pay his obedience to the pope, he, either by his master's orders or from his own inclination, or perhaps through contempt, visited the Spanish ambassador before ours. Henry, when he was informed of this affront, resolved to take vengeance for it, and began by revoking an order which, upon the representations made him by the Chevalier Guidi, he had

* "On Tuesday, the 8th of August, Du Terrail, in the king's sight, before the windows of the gallery of the Louvre, killed Mazancy, a brave Gascon officer, whom his majesty had just been speaking to. The king was so much affected with seeing this action, that he was obliged," as it was said, "to change his shirt twice upon it." (Mem. for the Hist. of France, anno 1606.) Du Terrail was obliged to leave the kingdom after this assassination.

† Ferdinand de Médicis, grand-duke of Tuscany, who, in 1587, succeeded his brother, Francis Marie de Médicis, died the preceding year. "The king," says L'Etoile, or the author of the Supplement to his Journal, "in order to acquaint the queen with his death, without surprising her, told her, as he was getting up, he had dreamed he saw the grand-duke dead. The queen at first was struck with it; but recollecting herself, she said it was only a dream. 'But, madam,' replied the king, 'I am afraid my dream is true; we are all mortal.' 'He is, then, dead?' 'Yes,' added the king; 'here is the letter that informs me of his death.'" This death occasioned a suspension of the usual diversion of the carnival, &c. It was this Ferdinand who made answer to our ambassador, when remonstrating to him on account of his connexions with Spain, "Had the king had forty galleys at Marseilles, I would not have done what I have." Como II. de Médicis, his son, is the person here in question.

given for the payment of a hundred thousand livres, which were still due to the grand-duke. Joannini, this prince's agent, who foresaw all the consequences of this affair, assembled his friends and partisans to consult together upon the methods they should use to prevent the reparation we had a right to exact from extending to any insult upon Spain; and as I was thought to be the person who of all the councillors was most capable of inspiring the king with a firm resolution on this head, they agreed that it would be proper for Joannini to apply to me, and endeavour to soften me.

I readily complied with his entreaties not to speak or act upon this occasion any otherwise than merely to execute the king's orders. There was no necessity for urging Henry to support his just claims, and this Joannini knew as well as myself. I told him, however, that I was much surprised that a petty prince, such as his master, should presume to regulate the rank of the kings of France and Spain. Joannini received these words as any other ambassador would have done upon the like occasion; and, to show me that I ought to treat his master with more respect, he entered into a long discourse upon his great qualities and his genealogy, making him allied to the house of Austria, whose eulogium he was going to begin. I interrupted him, saying that every other person was as capable as himself of settling the true degree of grandeur of the Duke of Florence, since it had commenced in our times; and as for what regarded the house of Austria I had no occasion for any information, I who reckoned among my ancestors a daughter of that house,*

* John de Bethune, lord of Vandeuil, Locres, &c., first of that branch, from which the Duke of Sully was descended, married Jane de Coucy, allied to the house of Austria. Enguerrand VI. of Coucy, or, to speak more properly, of Guines, bearing the name and arms of the house of Coucy, which was extinct, married Catherine of Austria, daughter of Leopold, who is the lady here meant by M. de Sully. He would have spoken more correctly had he said she came into the family of Coucy, to which his became allied. He has also made another mistake in point of chronology; for, instead of saying a hundred and fifty, he should have said two hundred and fifty years, this Enguerrand de Coucy, the husband of Catherine of Austria, having been killed at the battle of Crecy in 1346. (See the MSS. of S. Marthe, Du Chesne, Anselme, and other genealogists. See also our foregoing remarks on the house of Austria.

who died a hundred and fifty years ago; but that it was impossible to make any comparison between that family and the august house of France.

This affair gave rise to much artful management at court, in which the queen seemed to carry too far her tenderness for her relations. The king reproached her several times for it with some severity, and she made me sensible that she accused no other than myself for it. However, this affair produced no worse consequences. The Duke of Florence, upon the first complaint the king made to him, protested that he had no part in this imprudent procedure of his ambassador; and declared that he was willing to make any reparation for it which his majesty should require. He recalled his ambassador, without waiting for the king's request, and commanded him, before his departure, to make an authentic acknowledgment of the fault he had committed, which was published in Rome and in France. Henry was satisfied with this apology; and to convince the grand-duke that he had forgot everything, he assured him that he would preserve the same sentiments of friendship and esteem for him as for the deceased duke; and gave him the first proof of them by sending to congratulate him upon his advancement to the throne, as all the other princes of Europe had done.

Spain had chosen Cardinal Zapata to perform this ceremony, and Henry likewise thought proper to make use of a cardinal, that he might avoid an affront like the former: for it is well known what personal prerogatives cardinals enjoy at the courts of Italian princes. I named the Abbé de la Rochefoucault to him, who was going to Rome to take possession of that dignity; but his majesty, for that very reason, did not approve of him, as he was apprehensive that this abbé, who they were sensible was not yet named a cardinal, nor would leave France expressly for this embassy, would not be so well received at Florence as an old cardinal: therefore Cardinal Delfin was pitched upon by his majesty, who gave him two thousand crowns for his expenses, his eminence not being very rich. Conchini had aspired to this honour, and would have obtained it through the queen's interest; but, for the considerations before mentioned, he would not have acquitted himself of this commission at so small an expense: Henry, therefore, was pleased at his dis-

appointment, as well on account of his hatred to the man as from a principle of frugality.

Policy and the interest of his great designs had perhaps a greater share in the king's complaisance to the Duke of Florence than the consideration of his alliance with him. Those two motives were sufficient to prevent him from ill-treating or even neglecting the most inconsiderable prince. The hundred thousand livres were again ordered to be paid to the Chevalier Guidi, the king only requiring that, in the grand-duke's receipts, some considerable sums should be deducted, which he had advanced to Don John de Médicis. With this money Guidi carried to Florence a gold chain, valued at six hundred crowns, which I presented him with in his majesty's name. Henry likewise showed many other civilities to this Italian; for, whether he remained beyond the Alps, or was again sent to France by his master, the king thought it necessary to gain his friendship.

De Refuge continued still among the Swiss and Grisons in the quality of our agent, but executed this employment so ill, that I thought myself obliged to reproach him by Villeroy for his inattention to the business he was sent to transact. He durst not answer me himself; but to Villeroy he excused his neglect in not sending the account of the distribution he had made of the money, which was the first complaint I made against him, by alleging that these accounts should have been sent to me by the two clerks through whose hands the two former distributions had passed, besides those more particular ones which the treasurers of the Leagues were to furnish me with, and that I should certainly receive from them those of the next distribution. With regard to the redemption of debts, which was my second charge against him, he, without coming to particulars, told Villeroy, in his answer, that he had discharged some at different times; nor did he give more satisfactory replies to the other reprimands he received.

After Villeroy had shown me his letter, I wrote to him myself, as I believed the place I filled gave me a right, and even obliged me to do. I told him that I had not received the four accounts from the clerks he mentioned to Villeroy; but that, if I had, such accounts were not sufficient; that, since the ordinances for payment came only from him, it

belonged to him likewise to draw up accounts, wherein every sum of money should be specified separately, and authenticated by him; that he was obliged to answer for the exactness of the treasurers, and to inform me if they had any blanks in their accounts, which was what was always done by Caumartin, his predecessor; and, likewise, that he should not fail to send me every quarter the accounts of the receipts given by the treasurers of the Leagues, with that of the distribution he had made, divided into chapters. He was continually proposing new methods for discharging of debts, or managing his majesty's money, and for confining his employment solely to the finances, in consequence of which he demanded an exact correspondence with the superintendent. It was not possible for him to find an excuse for the silence he affected with me, nor were his excuses for not having paid any debts during his administration any better. The thing was not more difficult for him than the person whom he had succeeded. I desired him, therefore, to satisfy me as soon as possible, not by using many words and justifications, that had no force, and which, in affairs relating to money, could not be received, but by just reasons and good effects; otherwise I could not dispense with myself from representing him to his majesty as a man unworthy of the trust he had confided to him.

It was suggested to the grand seignior to have a resident at Marseilles for the convenience of the granadines who passed through that city. The grand vizier mentioned it, by his order, to our ambassador at the Porte, and consulted the Aga of Cairo, named Ibrahim Mustapha, upon this establishment, a man who, in a very short space of time, had acquired great authority and many dignities at the Porte, and mentioned me to him as the only person at the court of France to whom it would be proper to address himself. The Aga Mustapha was directed to ask this favour of the king, in the name of Sultan Achmet, by a letter, to which was added one from Salignac to me, and both were brought by a granadine, whom the grand vizier chose for this employment. Salignac gave me information of all that had passed at the Porte upon this subject, and added that the grand seignior would think himself highly obliged to the king for the grant of this favour, which could be productive of no inconvenience

to him; and that he could not dispose of the place to any one more fit for it than the bearer, whose probity and good sense were well known to him, and who had formerly passed some time at Marseilles.

One of the most remarkable and interesting events that happened this year in Europe was the death of the Duke of Cleves, who died about the beginning of it; the news of which no sooner reached the ears of Henry than he came to the Arsenal, where, having barely inquired for me in the first court, he passed on to the garden, without entering my apartment. When he was answered that I was writing in my cabinet, he turned to Roquelaure and Zamet, and said to them, smiling, "Did not you imagine that they were going to tell me that he was either hunting, dressing, or with the ladies? Go, Zamet," he continued, after having given such praise to my diligence as does not become me to repeat, "go, tell him that I am gone up the great walk, and desire him to follow me immediately to the large balcony, where we are not wont to be silent; I have much to say to him: for I have heard that the Duke of Cleves is dead; he has left all the world his heirs, the emperor and all the princes of Germany claiming the succession." Zamet met me coming out of my closet, having been already told that the king had passed by. The news of the day and every consequential incident afforded matter for above an hour's entertainment in the balcony. His majesty thought it a subject well worth my pains to compose, upon what I had to say on this head, a memoir, which I shall here insert, with the addition of such information as I received a few days after from Bongars, who at that time had a particular charge to be strictly watchful of our interest in Germany. I showed it all to Henry; nor do I believe the reader will be displeased to find an event which all Europe, attentive to his majesty's designs, looked upon as a signal of a general war, treated with that perspicuity it deserves, both with respect to its justice and expediency.

But it is first necessary to explain how this little state, made, at the last duke's death, out of four or five great fiefs, each having the title of principality, was formed. A Count of Juliers, who lived about the year 1130, united this county to that of Berg, by marrying an only daughter of a count of

that name. The county of Gueldres was afterwards united to it in the year 1350, by the marriage of Reynold, or Renould, first Duke of Gueldres, with the heiress of William, first Duke of Juliers. About the same time, one Adolphus de la Mark resigned the archbishopric of Cologne and the bishopric of Munster to support his pretensions as heir of Mary, his mother, Countess of Cleves, against his cousins, D'Erkel and Perweis, who were also sons of Cleves, but on the female side, and succeeded in his claims, either by purchasing the right of the second son, who was nearer of kin by one degree than he, or by the assistance of the Emperor Charles IV. and the States of the country.

The Duchy of Cleves having thus passed into the house of La Mark, those of Juliers and Berg were afterwards reunited to it in the person of John Duke of Cleves, Count de la Mark, who, in 1496, married the daughter of William Duke of Juliers and Berg. The Duchy of Gueldres was at that time dismembered, because that Arnold d'Egmont, who possessed it in right of his mother, Mary d'Erkel, daughter to N. d'Erkel and Jane of Juliers and Gueldres, had sold it, in 1472, to Charles of Burgundy, with whose daughter it went to the house of Austria, a disposition that was vainly contested by William of Juliers, to whom it was left by will by Charles d'Egmont, grandson of Arnold, the house of Austria maintaining itself in possession of the duchy by force of arms. This custom of feminine fiefs, received in all the cantons, supports the opinions of those who believe that the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries, which fell into the house of Austria by the marriage of Mary of Burgundy with Maximilian, are not the only female fiefs.

The emperor would not allow that Cleves, Juliers, Berg, La Mark, Ravensburg, and Ravestein, of which John William died possessed, were female fiefs; on the contrary, the claims which he pretended to these fiefs were founded only upon proofs which he is said to have had of their being all masculine fiefs. This contest was not a point absolutely new. The contradiction of the dispositions of the different sovereigns of this little territory, which at different times had been received by their subjects, to the declaration of some of the emperors upon this head, had long made it a disputed point, the entire decision of which had been by both parties

referred to the death of the last male heir of that house, which at length happened. To canvass this point of right more properly, it is necessary to search into the archives of that principality, by which means we shall be acquainted with the state of the last duke's family, and find out with what truth Henry said that the Duke of Cleve's succession belonged to almost all Germany.

The arguments urged in this affair, by the interested princes, against the emperor, were drawn from the many testamentary and matrimonial papers, as well as several other writings, both public and private, which received their authority from the solemn acceptation of the states of the country, the chief of which were these: First, an ordinance of Adolphus the first Duke of Cleves, Count de la Mark, &c., received in all his towns, anno 1418, whereby the principality was given to the duke's eldest son, and to him only, his brothers being excluded from any share in it; and, in default of male issue in him, to his eldest daughter, exclusive of other daughters. There was a like edict of William, Duke of Juliers and Berg, Count of Ravensburg, John, Duke of Cleves, Count de la Mark, in 1496, on account of the union of their territories, by the marriage of Mary, only daughter of the first of these princes, with John, son of the second. There was another ordinance of the said John of Cleves and Mary of Juliers, in 1526, about which time there was a marriage between their eldest daughter Sibylla to John Frederic, Count, and since Elector, of Saxony, to which disposition William himself, son of John and Mary, subscribed in 1542. In the year 1572, William, Duke of Juliers and Cleves,* &c., father of the last duke, accomplished a match between his eldest daughter, Maria Eleonora, and Albert Frederic of Brandenburg, Duke of Prussia; and, in the marriage articles, he reserved the entire succession to her in the same form, in case of the extinction of the male line in his family. Two years after, Ann, sister of Maria Eleonora, espoused Duke Philip Louis, the count palatine, at Neuburg, with the same respects to the rights of eldership in the female line. The contract was concluded at Deux-Ponts, and signed by the Count Louis, afterwards elector palatine,

* He died in 1592

by William, Landgrave of Hesse, and Duke John, count palatine. The same contract was ratified a second time in 1575, by the same Prince William; at which time Duke Philip Louis complaining that two hundred thousand florins, which was the portion of the younger sisters, was too slight a recompense for renouncing such a succession, his kinsman, the Duke of Cleves, insisted upon an augmentation of one hundred thousand for each of them, on which condition Ann of Juliers made a solemn renunciation of it the same year. Duke John, count palatine of Deux-Ponts, about four years afterwards married Magdalen, the third daughter of William of Juliers, making the same renunciation in favour of the eldest of his three sisters as Duke Philip Louis, his eldest brother, had done; Louis, elector palatine, William, Landgrave of Hesse, Philip Louis, count palatine of Neuburg, also agreed thereto. This was the fourth renunciation of the Duke of Neuburg. Lastly, Sibylla, the fourth of these princesses, married Charles of Austria, Marquis of Burgau; upon which occasion it was natural to suppose that the prince their brother would not have forgotten to insist upon the Austrian prince's* making the same renunciation with his other three brothers-in-law: nevertheless, it appeared, that partly because this prince, who had no children and was become a valetudinarian; partly, that the portion-money was not ready; and, lastly, because the government was managed very strangely, the Duke of Cleves died, before his fourth brother-in-law had made the same renunciation as the rest. Such were the rights of the four princes, the Duke of Brandenburg and Prussia, the Count Palatine of Neuburg, the Count Palatine of Deux-Ponts, and the Marquis of Burgau.

The emperor alleged the following examples in his favour: In the year 1483, imagining the duchies of Juliers and Berg had, by the death of Duke William, fallen to the empire, he bestowed them, by his own absolute will, on Albert, Duke of Saxony, to reward him for his services. Maximilian, the first son of Frederic, ratified and extended this donation to the person of Ernest, Elector of Saxony, brother of Albert, in the year 1486. He confirms it again in 1495, as at that time he stood in need of the Princes of Saxony: but this

* He died at the age of forty-seven.

consideration no longer subsisting, in the year 1508 the emperor left William of Juliers at liberty to dispose of his own estate, either to Mary, or such other of his daughters as he liked best. William dying in the year 1511, the Elector of Saxony intended to take advantage of the emperor's donation, and to deprive the Duke of Cleves of Juliers, the heiress of which he had married: but, when he endeavoured to fix Maximilian on his side, that emperor, who feared nothing so much as the Duke of Cleves throwing himself into the arms of France, refused to interfere, and advised the elector to take patience, giving him only general promises that he should lose nothing thereby. Moreover, when John Frederic, Elector of Saxony, married Sibylla, daughter of John, Duke of Cleves and Juliers, in the year 1526, Charles V. expressly confirmed the right of that princess, and acted in pursuance thereof: for when, in 1546, he made peace with Duke William of Juliers, whom he had vanquished, on condition that the duke should marry Mary of Austria, daughter of Ferdinand, King of the Romans and Hungary, he allowed in the marriage contract of this princess, who was his niece, that her daughter should succeed to the duchies of Juliers, &c., in case she should have no sons; which was also admitted after him by Maximilian II., in 1566. It is true that the reigning emperor, though strongly solicited, in 1602, by the Duke of Neuburg to confirm that constitution of his predecessors, constantly refused it: and the only reason he gave for such refusal was, that he could not pretend to prejudice any person's right.

After this, the reader will easily discern a very distinguishing difference between the justice of the pretensions of the two parties, much to the advantage of the lawful heir, but very unfavourable to the Austrians; the former grounding their claim on a series of regulations unanimously and uniformly received; the latter only producing grants of pure power, which do little honour to the Aulic Council, and, moreover, by their variation and contradiction, so unstable as scarcely to found any right.

However, the Duke of Cleves was no sooner dead, than each party began to think seriously of maintaining its right. The Emperor Rodolphus gave the investiture of Juliers and Cleves to the Archduke Leopold of Austria, a step he would

not have taken, had it not been to be beforehand with his most Christian majesty. This step was made in the name of Leopold, who declared by his deputy to the king, that his intention in entering upon Cleves was neither to do anything that could be in the least prejudicial to his majesty's interest, nor yet to treat the princes, his competitors, with rigour; that he should be contented, provided they behaved to his Imperial majesty as they ought upon this occasion, and entreated the king not to enter into a discussion of an affair in which he himself was alone concerned with them.

Henry's answer to this deputy was in very general terms. He was surprised that all this time he had heard nothing of the other princes, who ought to have been the first to address him; nor was he less so at the information received from Hottoman, that none of them thought of levying troops, as if they could hope to obtain anything otherwise than by force of arms. But they soon saw what part they had to take; and if it was true that his majesty, in slightly reproaching them for their silence, took the first step, they followed it so well, that, having invited Boissise, Bongars, and the king's other agents to their council, they appointed an ambassador to entreat his majesty in their name to support them against the archduke, or rather against the emperor, which ambassador had good reason to be satisfied with the success of his commission. But, before we give a detail of ensuing facts, let us make some reflections upon the real political interest of France at this juncture.

These six cantons or small provinces, Cleves, Juliers, Berg, La Mark, Ravensburg, and Ravenstein, were so far from being indifferent to France that she was rather interested in them in a very peculiar manner for several reasons, of which their strength and riches were not the least. They lay upon our frontiers; the competitors for them were not only near, but formidable neighbours; at least the emperor was so. This was reason sufficient not to let them fall into every hand. The war raised for their possession might become general throughout Europe, and consequently reach us against our will. This would certainly be the case were the United Provinces, whom they particularly and necessarily influence, only concerned; their connexion being so evident, that giving these disputed provinces to our friends, is, as it were,

taking all Flanders from our enemies; as, on the contrary, leaving them open to the invasion of the house of Austria, were to expose the whole United Provinces to destruction: for I know not how otherwise to call the necessity to which they would be reduced, had they none but enemies for their neighbours, whose favour they must court by repeated sacrifices, which must terminate absolutely in their ruin. The truth of this was never more fully proved than from the advantages under which the States laboured when the Duke of Cleves, even but privately, supported the Spaniards. Is it prudent to suffer so useful and so expensive a work to be destroyed when about to be completed? and let me add, with sincerity, a work which, in spite of all our efforts, has, by the last treaty between Spain and the States, been not a little shaken.

If from this point of view we pass to his most Christian majesty's vast designs upon all Europe, what better means is there of engaging in them those powers who could not be otherwise reconciled to them? This is the surest way of attaching to us all the princes of the empire, of restoring the liberty and dignity of the Germanic body, giving a mortal blow to the Imperial authority, and striking the whole house of Austria with consternation: and this advantage, which France, for her own private interest, ought at any rate to have purchased, she shall enjoy, as the effect of disinterested generosity towards persecuted princes, without either jealousy or envy.

To this it may be objected, that these princes have hitherto shown themselves very averse from entertaining these notions of us, if we may judge from ther evident unwillingness to be obliged to us, even when forced to allow that, without our assistance, they can do nothing: but, after all, this is no more than what unavoidably happens in the beginning of a difficult complicated affair, wherein many persons are concerned; for in such schemes their first consideration is to weigh their interest with their powers. Even when we know what is to be done, we are not agreed with respect to the manner of doing it; especially in confederacies, where opinions multiply in proportion to the number of parties concerned; besides, I insist that this irresolution of the German princes, from whatever motives it proceeds, ought

not to prevent his majesty from taking part with them. I lay it down as a maxim, that in all important affairs which tend to the general good, it is to the cause only, and not to the persons, we must be attached: for the former presents but one single view, and that always the same; whereas the latter is so subject to change, and presents such a variety of hateful objects, that, closely to consider them, would give us a disinclination to the most useful and necessary enterprises. Politically speaking, we ought always to be content with having removed obstacles, without being deterred from proceeding by any difficulties that may remain, and which time of itself will remove; but with this restriction, that I speak of designs whereof the contrivers need not be ashamed: such was ours in supporting the heir to the Duke of Cleves, and settling the balance of Europe. We have then only to begin; each moment will furnish us with fresh resources: the princes, now so backward and irresolute, will acquire courage from time and the flush of success; and the ardour of war will inspire them with those sentiments of our generosity, which they are to be condemned for not having at first entertained.

Behold a motive in favour of those who, though they approve of our generosity, yet are reduced perhaps to wish that it may not be merely gratuitous on our side. Whatever success our arms may have in conjunction with those princes who form pretensions on the succession of Cleves, yet still these princes have certain fears that, one day or other, they shall be divested of all their possessions by the emperor, whenever the situation of things comes to change. Is it a rash conclusion to imagine that this fear, joined to the reflections they made on the difficulty of preserving provinces divided amongst them into so many fragments, so little conducive to their respective utility, so desirably tempting to their enemies, especially to a king of France of an enterprising disposition, should not induce them, one day or other, to enter into an accommodation with his most Christian majesty, whether they received the value of these territories in ready money, or in some equivalent in tracts of land, for example, in the heart of France, as in Berry, Bourbon, Marche, and Auvergne? Now, supposing this to happen, what advantages must accrue to France in this double con-

nexion of interest and dependency, which will unite part of Germany with her for ever? And what cannot be denied is, that the present succours, which his majesty shall grant to these princes, will be a pledge to them to demand them for the future, in order to preserve themselves in their new acquisitions, a request which the king can pay on demand. Many people may think that what I have been saying is purely chimerical; and perhaps I may surprise several by informing them that the thing, far from being absolutely impossible, as has been imagined, had been long in agitation by third persons; and that on the day it produced itself, by the concurrence of causes so favourable, was on the point of being proposed to the princes concerned, and might very probably have been accepted by them.

But, to leave these public and private considerations, let us consider the thing more simply. The King of France had already engaged himself to undertake the support of those princes, had neglected nothing to attach them to him; had offered them his assistance at all times; had declared, in terms sufficiently high, that he would allow no one to use them ill; and had also ordered his troops to advance to the frontiers; so that it was a point of honour and justice of long continuance, and it was inconsistent with his character to recede. Our kings have been rarely insensible to this impulse of generosity, which induces them to support unfortunate princes. This was not precisely the present case. The persons in question had rendered real services to his majesty, and shown, on all occasions, that nothing but want of power hindered them from performing greater. It became Henry, therefore, as a friend and as one obliged, to recollect all that they had done for him in his days of distress. When Francis I. aided Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, uncle to the present, to restore Duke Ulric to the possession of the Duchy of Würtemberg; when Henry II. joined Maurice, Elector of Saxony, to deliver the German princes oppressed by Charles V., their personal honour only, and that of their crown, induced them to take these steps under very considerable inconveniences. They had fewer inducements than Henry the Great, the motive of affection and gratitude only, more powerful, indeed, than any others.

And here I may positively contradict those who complain

of involving his majesty, out of pure good-will, in a war with Spain, capable of inflaming all Christendom, merely on account of some foreign interest, which might be adjudged without drawing the sword. These are equally ignorant of the nature of the thing, and the consequences of the undertaking. They will at length allow that, in the present conjuncture, the enterprise, which has for its object the assurance of the succession of Cleves to the true heirs, is an affair of such prompt execution, that the public will hardly know of it but by the effects: that Spain, by making peace with her own subjects—a peace by which (such is their ruinous situation) they are bettered in no respect—hath afforded us a proof of such a political weakness and exhausted condition, that she must submit to the laws of an imposed neutrality; that the emperor is no longer in a condition to dispute with us, he being defrauded of his succours from one part of Germany; and we, on the other hand, having more means to act than we had for a considerable time. In short, it is a scheme which ought to cost France little more than to say she will execute it. The event hath justified all this beyond contradiction.

This, therefore, is properly an affair of no consequence, if we consider it as respecting only the business of Cleves; and they who talk in another manner, do it certainly only for this reason, that, speaking according to the rules of policy, it is only an introduction to another more illustrious and extensive plan, which Europe has observed to be formed by his majesty for the depression of the house of Austria. I am so sincere as readily to allow that this business must be done at once, and such was the advice I gave to my master, who was of the same opinion with myself. Of this I can only convince those who, like me, will examine the affair without passion or prejudice, and of those men I hold myself certain, because their opinion will be the result of every reflection that can be made upon the different schemes by which this design may be carried on. I will give an account of them, such as they rose in my own mind, when I was most deeply engaged in those considerations.

The first opinion, and the least plausible, is to sit quiet and see the parties concerned fight out their quarrel, or at least assist our friends only with our counsels. As policy

will always direct us not to stand unarmed to look upon those that are at war, it would be necessary to keep a body of troops upon the frontier, if for no other purpose than to take advantage of any change which might happen from time to time. By taking this side, therefore, we make no alteration in our expenses, but that we are obliged to continue them longer than if, by engaging vigorously, we should put an end to them at one blow.

I say the same thing of the second scheme, which appears on the first view sufficiently specious, that is, to support the princes against the house of Austria; not openly, but by secret means, as we have already done in the war of Flanders. The peace subsisting in other respects among all the other powers of Europe, there was reason to fear lest these private succours should be too weak to enable our allies to resist the two branches of the house of Austria united against them, which is the end to be kept always in view, as is generally agreed; and, in this case, we should have been obliged to keep at all the three points of land where their contested country borders upon France and Flanders a body of forces, consisting of at least four thousand foot and eight hundred horse, advantageously posted upon our own ground, or in the neutral country, where, however, they were to have performed no act of hostility, but only to have guarded the passages, kept the enemy at a distance, and prevented the total ruin of those in whose favour we engaged. In this case the expense would have been great, and its consequences only the protection of that war which, by engaging vigorously in it, might be finished at a blow. It is said in a political proverb, "He that gives soon gives twice;" to which I shall add another, "He that gives only half gives twice, and gives nothing." Of this we have a recent example in the revolt of the United Provinces, that this manner of supporting an ally which, upon the whole, is equally chargeable with a quick and powerful assistance, has no other effect than to force them, sooner or later, upon an accommodation, when we might have withdrawn them all at once from the dominion of Spain. If this be all the advantage which our alliance will procure to the princes of Germany, we oblige them but little, or not at all; there being this difference be-

tween them and Holland, that under whatever pretensions a treaty is offered them, it can only be intended as a lure, by which the emperor will draw them within his power, and destroy them; and who can tell that we shall not ourselves feel the consequences? It was a just expression of Bongars, "That Leopold in Juliers is a ferret in a warren." This scheme, therefore, is of no other use than to save the king a little personal trouble, who at most would be under no necessity to go further than Châlons or Rheims.

Between this plan and that of a general combination against the house of Austria another has been contrived of a middle kind, of which the last Savoy expedition may be given as an instance. In this it is laid down as a supposition that the allies on each part act as if they had agreed amongst themselves to support the cause only so far as may be necessary to gain the point openly debated, and without pretending to infringe what they had promised for themselves in the treaty of Vervins. If this is not a mere supposition, it appears at least to be a scheme of measures that would be long, expensive, and perplexing, which must begin by a discussion of the proportion of troops which each of the allies must furnish; and then an inquiry after funds that may support these troops for two years at least, of which the first year, and the three first months of the next, will be spent in going and coming, and settling operations. The winter is severe in that country where the war is to be carried on; and, that the army may not be ruined, the cold must be at an end before any action commences. In an enterprise where the king will not be at the head, as chief of the army, it will be sufficient for him to put the troops designed against Cleves under a prince or a marshal of France; but he must, nevertheless, make the proper preparations, and advance the necessary money, of which the greater sums will be required, as he will have the appearance, however he may endeavour to avoid it, of supporting all this burden alone, or nearly alone. He will be likewise obliged to keep three thousand men in Dauphiny, and the same number in Provence, in Languedoc, and in Guienne. I can then see nothing better to be done than to choose a certain number of places so situated as to be able to defend one another, and to serve as a chain to join the coun-

try of Cleves with France and the United Provinces; and to fortify these cities, which will again be a considerable expense.

Thus all these reflections bring us back to the first expedient as the most efficacious: to keep measures no longer with Spain; to treat the house of Austria as the general enemy of Europe; to raise it rivals and adversaries on every side; to pour strong armies upon it; to claim again the country of Cleves; and, when we have made the demand, to do ourselves justice by seizing upon it, and upon all the places which shall be judged sufficient for the common cause, upon the side of Luxembourg, Limburg, Aix, &c.; at the same instant to extend our forces, and cover the frontiers of the Alps and Pyrenees; in a word, to set up the standard, and to show to all the world that the day is at last come, for which the King of France has been preparing so many years, and with so much care; that this prince will show himself now proceeding under the direction of honour, armed to revenge one part of the world for the attacks of an unjust and haughty power; and who then will refuse to follow him? We are assured by our correspondents of almost all Italy and Germany; we take along with us the United Provinces, showing them their enemy by our power removed from their frontiers; we shall untie the hands and the tongues of those powers who are now restrained by fear; and, if our endeavours are not equally supported on all sides, the general resentment, which we may now make use of, will secure us from being thwarted by more than a very small number.

It must be expected that the house of Austria will move heaven and earth to avert or to sustain a blow that threatens its ruin; but when an exact view is taken of all the support which she can be supposed to have, either from herself or her allies, if it be generally confessed that Europe is in a state of agitation from which it cannot be set free but by long and cruel wars, which will perhaps restore its liberty, and perhaps take it away for ever, can she choose a better time for the determination of her fate than this, when the hazard is least, and the success most likely? This is what I have now to say, without anticipating the particulars which I have promised to give of the great designs of Henry IV., and the manner in which they were to be put in execution.

It was the partisans of Spain, the supporters of the Old League, the enemies of the Protestants, and the disaffected French, jealous of the king's glory and the kingdom's prosperity, who used their utmost endeavours to dissuade his majesty from engaging in those great designs which he had formed; but finding that all their efforts had proved ineffectual, and that he was upon the point of carrying them into execution, they exerted all the arts which yet remained. They took advantage of Henry's propensity to pleasure, and sought to raise a conflict in his mind between his desire of fame and those inclinations which made a soft and voluptuous life too alluring. Again they endeavoured to fill him with suspicions of the whole body of Protestants in general, and of myself in particular: they placed before his eyes his kingdom torn to pieces by factions, who eagerly expected a war, at a time when they might act their treasons with impunity; and the princes his associates, as artful deceivers, who laughed at his vain projects. There were some moments when Henry, though upon his guard against this sort of artifice, suffered himself to be shaken by it; and I myself perhaps contributed to discourage him without knowing it, by representing to him, that a prince who had expanded his heart to entertain designs so noble, ought to begin the execution of them by shutting out all fondness for trifling amusements and expenses which had only mere convenience in view; that, on a like occasion, Ferdinand and Isabella of Castile, and several of our own kings, had lessened the expenses of their household; as likewise those of the queen. In a word, I told him that he ought no more to think of pleasure but in vanquishing his enemies, or at least till victory was his own.

It happened very fortunately, to fix the wavering mind of Henry, that the German princes, of their own accord, and in opposition to the emperor, held an assembly at Hall, in Suabia, to deliberate upon the means of restoring the circles to their former liberty. They met there on the day appointed, to the number of eighteen or twenty.* The Venetians, the

* See the names of these princes, M. de Boissise's speech, the manner and resolutions of this assembly, in vol. 9765 MSS. R.; Mém. d'Etat de Villeroy, vol. iii. p. 230 et seq.; Merc. Franç., anno 1610; Siri, ibid. vol. iv. p. 68.

Prince of Orange, the States of Holland, and the Duke of Savoy, who had at last taken a resolution to engage in the common cause, sent deputies thither to represent them: the manifestoes, which were carefully circulated, joined to the public discourse; and what was privately intimated by Boissise,* and other agents of his majesty, had so good an effect, that it was publicly deliberated to stop the progress of the house of Austria; and it was resolved that ambassadors should be sent to his most Christian majesty, in the name of the assembled powers, to offer him all their forces, and to demand a promise of his, when required. These ambassadors were appointed, and set out directly.

Henry had just given them their first audience, when he came to the Arsenal to tell me all they had said and offered, and to consult with me upon the answer he should give to their proposals. He desired me to consider the matter attentively, while he went to dine at Zamet's; adding, that he would return, and pass part of the afternoon with me in my garden, where he appointed me to meet him.

We met there accordingly; and Henry, taking my hand, ordered every one to retire, and went to the terrace, which was the place where we usually held our most serious conversations. "Well," said his majesty, "what do you think of our affairs—for some are of one opinion, and some of another?" This appearing to me a favourable opportunity to confirm him in his resolution, I showed him plainly, that those who opposed it were doubtless excited to do so by secret motives, which I seemed to be ignorant of; since, if we examined things in three principal points of view, namely, with regard to his own person, the state of affairs within his kingdom, and of those without, there were no difficulties to be apprehended; for, without flattery, he was, in the opinion of the French nation, superior to the greatest warriors and statesmen of his age, and that such a school could not fail of producing men excellent in both capacities, as it had already done, which would assist him in bearing the weight of a new burden he was preparing for himself and them. With regard to the affairs at home, there were neither princes, grandees, nor cities in his kingdom which were in a

* John de Thumery de Boissise.

condition, who were disposed, or had the means to retard his enterprise, much less to presume to attack him, when they saw him at the head of all the forces of Europe; and, besides this, he was going to open a theatre were those braggarts would find occasions of signalising themselves much more gloriously than in dark plots, where nothing was to be gained but infamy; and, lastly, as to the affairs without the kingdom, the difficulty of uniting so many powers in the same design, which had hitherto been considered as the only one to be feared, would be happily removed in a very short time.

"And now, Sire," said I, "all that remains to be considered is, whether you have the means of continuing the war as long as it is necessary upon the same footing as you are going to begin it, for I see plainly that France is the hinge upon which all must turn; therefore, I think it fit to tell your majesty that, with regard to the chief point, which is money, provided your war continues only three years, and that you have not occasion for more than forty thousand men, I will supply you with money sufficient for them, without laying any new tax upon your people; and as for other things, such as provisions, ammunition, and artillery, I will show you such a quantity of them, that you shall acknowledge there is enough; and then, I believe, we shall make war in such a manner, that of the three standards, white, black, and red,* we shall not need to display any but the first, and that once for all: the fate of those who first resist will be a lesson for all the rest." "But not to interrupt you," said his majesty to me, "pray, how much money have I? for I never yet knew exactly." "How much do you think you have, Sire?" I replied. "Have I twelve millions?" said he. "A little more," said I. "How! fourteen?" resumed he, going on augmenting it two millions more each time, because my constant answer was "A little more," till he came to thirty millions. "Oh! I ask no more," cried he, embracing me in a transport of joy. "I have drawn up a paper," said I, "by which your majesty will find that you may depend upon a new fund of forty millions extraordinary, without encroaching upon the

* By this expression the author means that no prince or state would refuse to join their forces to those of the confederates, after their intention was once made known, and after they had punished the first who should endeavour to oppose them.

usual expenses of your household and the State, upon a supposition, however, that my economy is not thwarted." "And where is this paper?" said Henry, precipitately. "I will give it you, Sire," I replied, "whenever you please, written with my own hand."

I afterwards showed his majesty a way how to be assisted, both in men and money, by his allies, provided that he would continue fixed in this part of his designs, in pursuance of which, as we had agreed, he would enrich them with all the conquests he gained from the house of Austria, without reserving anything for himself. "How!" said he, "would you have me expend sixty millions in conquering territories for others, and keep nothing for myself? And pray what is to become of Spain?—you say nothing of her." "Spain, Sire," I replied, "is to remain as she is; we must not take anything from her king. She must serve as a check to keep all those whom your liberalities have enriched under the shadow of your protection: a king of Spain being always powerful enough to oppress them separately, when no longer supported by you, they will never fail in the gratitude and respect they will owe you." I likewise, without having recourse to that general maxim, that too great extent of territory rather weakens than strengthens a government, easily brought Henry to acknowledge, that many inconveniences would attend his appropriating the conquered countries to himself; that it would be a subject for eternal hatred and jealousy; and, all things considered, the greatest and most solid advantage he could acquire by his conquests, if he distributed them with equity, was a right of being regarded as the sole benefactor and arbitrator of Europe.

What I most earnestly recommended to him was, to guard against every possible reverse of fortune; as, for example, if he should be abandoned or betrayed by his allies, to have it always in his power to bring back his armies into his own kingdom, not only without danger, but with honour; to facilitate which, nothing was more necessary than to build forts at proper distances on the road of Cleves. To this piece of advice I added another, which was, to provide great plenty of provisions in the neighbourhood of those provinces; for, besides that it was not easy to carry them through a country so enclosed and crossed by rivers as that was, the

whole district was divided among several little princes, who had already gathered in the fruits of the present harvest, great part of it being pillaged before; that it would be scarcely possible for an army to subsist there fifteen days, without being obliged to have recourse to the magazines of those princes, where everything would be set at so high a price, that all his money would scarcely suffice to purchase what was wanted. I therefore told his majesty that I would, if he consented to it, send for the merchants with whom I used formerly to treat, when I had any great enterprises in hand, and would agree with them for everything we had occasion for, at a reasonable price.

The king, at parting, collecting in one view all that I had said to him, told me that he was going to consider of the resolution it was proper for him to take, and desired that I would not neglect to examine everything with the deepest attention; that he would come very often and confer with me; and that I might begin to make all those preparations I had mentioned; by which I concluded that I had obtained part, at least, of what I desired.

I sent for the merchants of Liege, Aix, Triers, and Cologne, with whom I made the following agreement: That they should furnish me, in the space of three months, with all sorts of ammunition, provisions, forage, and warlike stores, and send them to that part of the frontier near Cleves which I should appoint—(I had drawn up an exact list of everything which was necessary for an army of twenty-five thousand foot, and five thousand horse)—at the same price they bore in the fair which was held in the month of October; that I, on my side, should advance them the sum of six hundred thousand crowns, which would remain in their hands a year at least, giving them at Paris a million for security of this sum, which was to indemnify them for the expenses of purchase, selling at loss, waste, and other accidents.

The king was so well pleased with my proceedings, that he ordered me to put the finishing hand to them, and, in the overflowings of his joy, recounted all to Sillery, Villeroy, and Jeannin, and afterwards to the Count of Soissons, Cardinal Joyeuse,* the Duke of Epernon, and several others, some of

* Francis de Joyeuse.

whom applied themselves with such malice and dexterity to make him believe that I had drawn him into my snares, by sending those magazines out of the kingdom, which I had long wished for an opportunity of doing, to appropriate them to myself, that this prince, though already prejudiced against everything which came from them, at length swallowed the poison; and when he saw me, some days afterwards, asked me if the contract for provisions was signed. I replied it was not; because I thought it a thing of too much consequence to be done without a previous application to the council, which had not met since. Henry, who in this procedure ought to have found nothing but exactness, thought it had an appearance of falsehood and artful precaution, which confirmed his suspicions, and therefore bid me not conclude the bargain till I had an order from him. "Sire," replied I, still ignorant of his meaning, "the merchants will not stay." "If they will not stay," resumed he, with the same dryness and reserve, "they may go back again." This opened my eyes, and anger being now roused in my breast as well as his, "I begin to perceive, Sire," said I, "that you have something in your thoughts which I am not to know; I shall send the merchants back, since you will have it so; but you will be pleased to remember this affair another time." Saying this, we separated with great coldness on both sides.

No more mention was made of the provisions till a long time after, when the king coming to the Arsenal to confer with me upon other affairs, before some of his courtiers, as usual, took me aside, and said, "I have been informed that the States of Holland will send ambassadors to me in a few days to settle all that we are to do; in the mean time, let us make the necessary preparations, that nothing may be wanting on our part." This was all he said then. The deputies arrived soon after with letters from the Prince of Orange and the council of the States, for his majesty and for me. Henry opened them all, and finding that they assured him they would answer for the success of his enterprise, provided he would take the precaution to have all the necessary provisions upon the spot, giving him the same advice on this occasion as I myself had done, he began to be undeceived, and, closing my letters again, he gave them to L'Oserai to carry to me.

I found out this artifice immediately, and thought it allowable to return it with another, for as good a purpose. I sealed my letters, after I had read them, as he had done, and agreed with L'Oserai that he should bring them to me, as if for the first time, when the king, who was to come in the afternoon to the Arsenal, was with me.

Henry came accordingly, and began the conversation by asking me if I had received letters from the States, "For I am informed," said he, "that there are some for you." "I have not got them, Sire," replied I. "You will have them soon," resumed the king, "for I have given orders to have them brought to you, and mine also; but, in the mean time, let us talk about the provisions; for we shall go at a time when there is none to be got." "I foresaw this long ago, Sire," said I, "and I would have given proper orders for everything that was necessary: you yourself not only approved of my despatch, but even commanded it. However, you have, by the malice of my enemies, been persuaded to alter your resolution, the inconvenience of which will, I am afraid, fall heavily upon you; for that which might have been had easily, and at a moderate price, at that time, which was the season of harvest, will be very dearly and with difficulty purchased now; and, what is still worse, I know not whether any one will be bold enough to undertake to furnish with provisions an army of more than a hundred and fifty thousand men and thirty thousand horses." "Who will undertake it?" replied Henry; "why you, unless you have an inclination to offend me." "I would rather die than offend you, Sire," said I; "but you ought not to lay your commands upon me to do what is now become impossible, since you would not permit me to do it at a proper time." "Let us speak no more of what is past," resumed the king; "think only of the future. You must undertake this affair yourself, and to your other posts and employments add that of superintendent of provisions. I desire, as a friend, that you will accept of this office, for I know, if you act as you have always done, you will acquit yourself well in it."

I represented to his majesty very seriously, that I had already sufficient business upon my hands in the care of the artillery, which alone, and in the present conjuncture especially, might employ four persons; besides which, I had all

the ordinary expenses of the State to provide, those of his majesty's household, the queen's, and their children; as likewise of the fortifications, buildings, and other public works; and lastly, for all his troops, either at home or abroad. "How!" interrupted Henry, "do you really refuse then to grant a request which I make you as one friend would another? If you continue thus obstinate, I shall believe that you no longer love me; and that you really nourish those designs which, for a long time, endeavours have been used to persuade me you do." "What, Sire," said I, hastily, (taking advantage of the words which had escaped him), "am I then indeed so unhappy, that when I sacrifice my life for your service, your honour, and your fame, you should still return, and on the slightest suggestions, to suspicions of my fidelity? This, I confess, wounds me cruelly, deprives me of all courage to serve you, and will at length put an end to my life." "Well," resumed the king, who had resolved to expose me to all kinds of assaults, "since you think in this manner, I shall easily find a remedy for all these difficulties: we must break off our journey, pass the time as well as we can, and live in peace with all the world; agree with all parties, and give them money to make them easy; for we have amassed a great quantity, and we will use it for that purpose." "It is well resolved on, Sire," I replied; "and for myself, I declare that I am satisfied, since it will free me from many vexations, watchings, labours, reproaches, and dangers."

Henry interrupted me here with an emotion of rage he was not able to restrain, and reproached me with being a dissembler. "I know," said he, "that what you have said is far from being your real thoughts or desires: it is you who would be most grieved if we do not make war, which you have so long and so earnestly pressed me to do." "It is true, Sire," I replied, "that I think fortune presents you with a favourable opportunity to acquire honour and fame, if you are disposed to improve it; but if not, it is fit that your servants should pretend not to see it." I added, that his great designs not only turned upon his own person, but also depended so entirely on himself, that as he alone would secure the success, so likewise, by one single gesture, or word imprudently uttered, he might ruin them for ever.

At length, having endeavoured to hit upon a medium which might compose the difference between us, "If your majesty," said I, "will be pleased to commit the superintendence of provisions to Messieurs Jeannin and Caumartin, I promise to assist them with my advice, my labour, and my influence; and also with men and money, with a solicitude as great as if my life depended upon it; but if I undertake the office alone, you will never be persuaded to believe that the difficulties which may arise have any other cause than my negligence or want of attachment to you." "Well!" replied Henry, "I shall see what is to be done. However, if those persons will not engage in the affair without you, you must prepare to labour in conjunction with them, unless you resolve to see me break off my journey." L'Oserai entering that moment with the letters, he received a severe reprimand from the king for neglecting to bring them to me before.

From this time his majesty was continually employed in making preparations for his great enterprise. The councils which were held from thenceforward were kept very secret, and most frequently met at the Arsenal. The king always admitted M. de Vendôme to these councils; and laboured to instruct him as well in all affairs of state as of war. He perceived that there was a little coldness between this prince and myself; and being resolved to reconcile us, took the following method to effect it: "I have been informed," said he to me one day, that my son De Vendôme, and yours, are at variance with each other. I am desirous of reconciling them: send for your son to-morrow morning at eight o'clock into your closet; I will bring my son thither at that hour, and talk to them both." Accordingly, when we were met, Henry took the young men each by the hand, and said to them, "You see how greatly I love M. de Sully, and with what freedom I live with him. I would have you two on the same terms with each other, and follow our advice, we who are old and experienced, to the end that your youth may support itself with the prop of our age. And you, my son, honour and respect the Duke of Sully as myself; and often visit him, that you may learn from him the art of war, and the method to be used in business of state: through his affection for me, he will communicate his knowledge to you as freely as to his own son, whom I desire you would love as

your brother; and I command you both to bury in oblivion whatever may have occasioned any abatement of your former friendship."

I saw with pleasure some new obstacle removed every day. The alliance which had been proposed to the Duke of Savoy,* and which had been already mentioned, was eagerly accepted. The King of Sweden offered himself as an ally to France; and to connect the interests of both crowns more securely, gave the king to understand that it would be in France that he would seek for a wife for the prince his son, who, young as he was, courageously seconded all his brave resolutions. The Kings of England and Denmark were already more than half gained. The Protestants of Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and the Upper Austria, stimulated by our agents, and yet more determined by the cruelties which the emperor's ministers, excited by the Jesuits, practised upon them, had lately assured us, that, as soon as the war should be declared, they would make a powerful diversion in those borders of Germany. We found by letters from Bongars and the Landgrave of Hesse, that the Elector of Saxony would not be prevailed upon to take part against the emperor; but to make amends for this bad news, the Elector of Bavaria entered into an unlimited engagement with us, upon condition that he should be chosen to succeed the emperor, and actually named King of the Romans. The Swiss cantons appeared very favourably disposed towards us. In a word, none could resist the allurements of those conquests which all were made to expect. The pope himself, the most difficult in appearance to be gained, showed he was not insensible: upon my telling the nuncio one day that I intended to make his master a king, he thanked me for this news,

* See the treaty concluded this year between France and Savoy in Nevers's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 832, and the definitive treaty signed at Brusol the 25th of April in the year following, by which the King of France engages, amongst other things, to put the Duke of Savoy in possession of the Milanese. (Ibid. p. 880.) This treaty is set forth, according to the Italian original, by Vittorio Siri. (Ibid. vol. ii. p. 236.) But this writer contradicts himself, by saying (vol. i. p. 512) that it was the Duke of Sully who negotiated this agreement between France and Savoy; and asserting afterwards (p. 566) that it was the Duke of Sully's intention the Duke of Savoy should reap no other advantage from it than only to obtain the protection of France.

which, he said, was the best he could ever impart to his holiness.

But a resource still more certain, which we had begun to make use of, in case of a refusal from the sovereign pontiff, and all the little states of Italy, as Florence, Mantua, Montferrat, Modena, Urbino, Genoa, and Lucca, was to march with an army into the Milanese, and force them all either to join, or contribute at least some sums of money to the common armament. Lesdiguières had been commissioned to set on foot a body of twelve thousand foot and two thousand horse, with a train of artillery consisting of twelve pieces of cannon; and while he was employed in making these levies, I set apart every month a fund of a hundred thousand crowns for their maintenance, the assignments for which were expedited and already sent. I expected that the Duke of Savoy, the Venetians (who were the most zealous for, as indeed they were the most interested in, this part of the scheme), and the pope, in case we could prevail upon him to declare himself, would each furnish as much.

The storm began now to gather towards Germany. They had actually levied for the great army which was destined for Cleves twenty thousand foot, four thousand horse, and got ready a train of artillery consisting of no less than fifty cannons: the carriages, horses, mules, and all the rest of the baggage in proportion, were alike well furnished, and in a fit condition for service. The levies being finished, the army began to file off towards Cleves. Although the war was not yet declared, the company of two hundred men-at-arms, called the Queen's, of which I was captain-lieutenant, received orders to be at Mézières on the last day of July, complete and fully equipped.

The king, who delayed to set up his standard till the next spring should afford a proper time to take the field, resolved to avoid everything that might look like invasion till within ten days of his setting out. He wrote to the archduke, acquainting him, that, being solicited by the lawful heirs of the Duke of Cleves to assist them against certain persons, who, supported by several powerful princes, attempted to possess themselves of their dominions, he could not refuse to aid them; and as the road his army was to take lay through his territory, he entreated him to consent to his marching

through as a friend; that he would commit no act of hostility unless forced to it; and would keep his troops under exact discipline. The archduke's answer, which did not arrive till after his majesty's death, was to this effect:

"My Lord,—It is in the quality of one of the humblest of your servants that I entreat you will march through my territories; my gates shall be open to you, and provisions at your service, relying upon the assurance your majesty will, I hope, be pleased to give, that no act of hostility shall be committed during your march."

Such was the state of affairs in France at the conclusion of the year 1609, the last months of which Henry had employed solely in bringing his scheme to perfection. The beginning of the following year produced no change in his resolutions, no intermission in his labour; he was so entirely occupied by them, that he often made very indiscreet confidences. On New Year's-day, when I went to make him the usual compliments and presents, he was so well pleased with the device of the medals I brought him, that he put two of them in his pocket to show to some of the courtiers. Upon these medals was represented the terrestrial globe, self-balanced in the midst of an atmosphere, and assaulted in vain by winds and storms, with these words in Latin upon the exergue of the medal, "Suo se pondere fulcit;" altogether expressing the analogy between this emblem and the condition of our affairs, which, by the wise government of Henry, was capable of triumphing over all the efforts of our enemies. His majesty, at the rising from dinner, found the Count of Soissons and the Cardinals de Joyeuse and Du Perron conversing together in his library: he showed them the medals, and these gentlemen, to please him, enlarged upon the praises he bestowed on me, saying, that I was so much the more worthy of them, as that in men of rank a taste for the *belles-lettres* was seldom found united with the talents necessary to form a complete statesman and soldier.

I was present at this discourse, together with many other persons who had followed the king into the library. He ordered all to retire except M. de Vendôme, that he might converse with those I have first mentioned. La Varenne and Beringhen stayed likewise, but kept near the door. I was extremely uneasy when I heard his majesty begin to talk of

his great project before several persons who I knew were not all equally well affected to his interest; and my uneasiness increased upon his saying that he would give Spain and the house of Austria such a blow as would prevent them for the future from being considered as formidable enemies to France, whatever change might happen, either with regard to the royal family, or in the form of his government. These words were sufficiently imprudent; but he did not stop here, and was upon the point of betraying his secret by discovering circumstances of great importance. He no longer remembered what he had often said to me the year before, that he was beset with men who were continually laying snares for him to penetrate into the bottom of his heart, and whose curiosity on this occasion could not but proceed from a very bad motive.

I took the liberty to pull him by the cloak without any one perceiving it, which he understood so well, that he stopped short, as if he had forgotten something. "My memory," said he, "grows extremely bad: I cannot recollect the names of persons, cities, and countries. I entreat you," pursued he, turning to me, "to draw up memorials of all my own designs, their causes, and the expedients necessary for effecting them: as likewise to give me in writing the substance of all the conversations we have had together on these subjects as far back as you can recollect, that, when my memory is refreshed, I may communicate all to such of my servants whom I judge most worthy of my confidence." Thus did he extricate himself from the necessity he was under of saying more, since he had said so much. I replied that I would not fail to give him those memorials he required; but that the work was not so short, nor so easy to be executed, as that I could promise to satisfy him, unless I had prepared those papers long before: notwithstanding which, I was apprehensive that they would be defective in many circumstances, which I could only know from his own mouth, and upon which we had only had short and interrupted conferences. The conversation ended in this manner.

The king took part of the courtiers with him to hunt, and I went home to collect my papers, and put them in order. Some of those upon the affairs of the finances were of great importance, but did not directly relate to his majesty's vast

designs. I set apart such as I judged most necessary, and six days afterwards carried them to the king, telling him, when I presented them, that those persons who looked with an evil eye upon his project would be much more mortified if they knew what I had to show him. "What!" said he, "have you, then, concealed anything of importance upon this subject from me? I know not how to believe it." I answered, that was not the case; but that a thousand things, which, mentioned separately, are difficult to be remembered, when collected together strike the imagination more forcibly.

Among the papers I left with his majesty, those which related to his design were only general ones. When he had examined them, he came to the Arsenal, and, shutting himself up with me in my closet, "I have read your memorials," said he, "several times; there are many good things in them easily to be understood and executed; but there are others that require some consideration, and in which I do not think you will find your account." "I expected, Sire," replied I, "to hear you speak thus; but, before you go any further, I beg you will allow me to tell you that I have two other papers to show you, which, I am persuaded, will clear up all your doubts, and satisfy you entirely." "Oh, have you so?" said the king. "Well, give them to me; I will read them at my leisure, and then tell you my sentiments on them." In effect, these second memorials contained only some explanations of the former, and satisfactory answers to the doubts which might be raised, or difficulties that might be alleged. In these, likewise, the king found how great a number of soldiers it was necessary to raise for the execution of his vast designs, and what money it would require to maintain them.

The king was eager to see those other papers, and came himself for them to the Arsenal. He took his reading-glass, which lay upon a table in my closet, and read them quite through with great attention, declaring afterwards that the memorials I had given him eight days before were sufficiently explained by these; and that he now began to entertain hopes of success, seeing that such vast sums were at present amassed, or might be very easily. "For, provided we have money," said he, "I know I shall not want soldiers, courage, or diligence." "I am sure of it, Sire," said I; "and there is nothing too great for you to perform, or above what I ex-

pect from you. But here," added I, showing him a little paper written and signed with my own hand, "is something which will remove all your doubts." Henry, looking upon it, and perceiving that it was an account of what sums were then actually in his coffers, which amounted to thirty-six millions, embraced me eagerly three times; then, folding it up carefully, and rising, "These two papers," said he, "have given me great pleasure. I see there is a secure fund for my expenses." "You must not think, Sire," I replied, as we came out of the closet, "that this is all I am able to do; no, in a case of extreme necessity I may perhaps find the means of producing you as much more: your kingdom is so fertile and opulent, that it cannot be drained, provided good management be used; and that the money destined for the war be not applied to other purposes." I shall not give the reader the trouble of examining all these accounts in this place, as I propose to insert them exactly in the exposition I shall shortly make of Henry's great designs.

His majesty went again to Fontainebleau at the beginning of March, but he stayed there only fifteen days; and, by the letters I received from him during that time, it was plain he never lost sight of his project. They all turned upon circumstances relating to the war: in one, he mentions recruiting the five companies of the regiment of Piedmont to two hundred men each; in another, a company of light horse, which he had commanded Saubise to raise, giving him twelve thousand livres for that purpose, and ordered me to carry it to account immediately; in another, he directed me to confer with the chancellor, Villeroy, and Jeannin, about all that was necessary for furnishing his troops with provisions, and to choose the magazines along the Maese preferably to all others; in another of his letters he laid down the order that was to be observed in levying his soldiers, their march to the place of rendezvous, their enrolment, and many other details of the same kind. This letter was addressed more particularly to me, because it related to the levies which were to be made in my government.

I shall suppress, as usual, several other letters like those of the former years, which turned wholly upon small payments and affairs of the finances; and shall transcribe only one, which the king thought proper to send me, in answer

to some words that had escaped me concerning the pleasure he took in hunting, and in residing at Fontainebleau:

"My Friend,—I have heard what you said upon my hunting and my stay here; but do not imagine that the pleasure I find in either shall lessen my attention to make the necessary preparations for our journey, or the raising my army, in all that depends upon me: do you only take care to provide money and artillery, that nothing may be wanting, but more especially provisions; for, according to the account you have given me of the ambassadors necessary to be sent to the foreign courts, the Presidents Jeannin and Caumartin must be of the number. The others I leave to your choice, for to you I shall apply on every occasion. I have often considered what you said to me concerning my wife and another person, and the promises you exact from me. I shall speak to you more fully on this subject when I see you, which will be in two days. Adieu, my friend.—Fontainebleau, March 15."

Henry, at his return from Fontainebleau, employed the remainder of March and the whole of April in putting the finishing hand to everything that still remained to be done for opening the campaign, which he was resolved to do as soon as possible. He came frequently to the Arsenal, and remained many hours shut up with me alone. The time passed away very swiftly while we discoursed upon the accomplishment of his great designs; and a thousand considerations, which, at the eve of so important an enterprise, presented themselves to his mind, both with respect to foreign affairs and the necessary disposition of those at home, that no inconvenience and disorder might attend his absence. For this purpose the king ordered me to compose a long memorial upon war and affairs of state, which, after we had together examined every particular, he took pleasure in correcting with his own hand.

His majesty appointed the following persons to reside in the quality of ambassadors in the several courts of Europe while he was employed in the execution of his great design: my brother was to be sent to Rome and the other principalities and republics of Italy who had not yet declared for the confederacy; Bullion to the Venetians and the Duke of Savoy; Caumartin to the Swiss cantons, Grisons, and their

allies; Schomberg to the Dukes of Saxony, Bavaria, and Brunswick, the Marquis of Brandenburg, and the other princes and cities of Germany which had not yet entered into the alliance; Bongars to Hungary, Bohemia, and Transylvania; Boissise to Denmark, Sweden, and the cities situated upon the Baltic; Jeannin to Great Britain, the United Provinces, and the heirs of the principality of Cleves; Ancel to Vienna and Poland; Préaux to the archdukes, and Montglat to Constantinople.

The government at home was destined for the queen, with the title of regent, assisted by a council, without which she could not conclude anything, and which his majesty composed of the Cardinals de Joyeuse and Du Perron, the Dukes of Mayenne, Montmorency, and Montbazon; the Marshals Brissac and Fervaques, Messieurs de Châteauneuf, keeper of the seal of the regency, de Harlay, de Nicolay, de Châteauvieux, de Liancourt, de Pontcarré, de Gèvres, de Villemontée, and De Maupeou. This council was not only obliged to act conformably to the instructions which were given them, but were also restricted from determining anything upon affairs of great consequence till they had first informed and consulted his majesty upon them. This great council had under it fourteen smaller ones, composed each of five persons chosen out of the clergy, the noblesse, the lawyers, financiers, and the magistrates of the city of Paris. The number of these little councils was regulated by that of the provinces or governments into which the kingdom was divided, in the following order: the Isle of France, Brittany, Normandy, Picardy, Champagne, Burgundy, Bresse, Lyonois, Forez, Beaujolais; Auvergne, Dauphiny, Guienne, Poitou, Aunis, Saintonge, Angoumois; Limosin, Orleans, Anjou; and Touraine, Maine, Perche, Berry, Bourbon, Nivernois, and La Marche.

About this time preparations of a very different nature were making in Paris, which Henry beheld with a deep regret; I mean the ceremony of the queen's coronation. He had so strong a reluctance to it, that no motive less powerful than his complaisance for the queen could have forced him to consent to it. That princess, as soon as she had obtained an order for this ceremony, hurried on the preparations with the utmost eagerness. I have already men-

tioned the reasons her creatures urged for her speedy coronation, reasons which must appear very extravagant or highly criminal. Henry proposed to leave Paris immediately after the ceremony; and, as this could not occasion a longer delay than fifteen days, orders were issued for all the troops, both horse and foot, to begin their march directly to Champagne. The six thousand Swiss which the king had caused to be levied were conducted to Mouson by the Duke of Rohan, who had gone to the frontier to receive them. I sent away all the ordnance. Never before had France seen a train of artillery so complete and so well furnished, and perhaps never will again. My son put himself at the head of it, by virtue of his post of master-general, of which his majesty had been so good as to grant him the reversion. I prepared to follow soon after with eight millions of money.

At length the king gave the signal of his departure to the foreign powers by the letter he wrote to the archduke; and here it follows, such as it was composed by me, and such as the duke received it, if Villeroy, through whose hands it passed, as secretary of state, did not alter it, which he had a great inclination to do:

"BROTHER,—Since I cannot refuse to my best allies and confederates the assistance they require of me against those who dispute with them the succession to the Duchies and Earldoms of Cleves, Juliers, la Mark, Berg, Ravensburg, and Ravenstein, I am preparing to march thither with my whole army; and, because my road lies through your territories, I am willing to give you notice of it, and know of you whether I am to enter your country as a friend or an enemy. So, in expectation of your answer, I beseech God," &c.

I know not what judgment ought to be formed of a report which prevailed at that time, and was confirmed to the king at Fontainebleau, by Girard, who arrived at Brussels on the 7th of March, that in the court and dominions of the archduke people were persuaded the King of France pretended to have great designs only with a view to strike terror into his enemies; and they were so certain that this was the sole aim of his armament, that they made not the least preparations for opposing him. The latter part of this news might be true, as in effect it was; yet the archduke was not so easy

as he pretended to appear, otherwise he would have thought very differently from every other person who had an interest in Spain and the house of Austria. Their consternation was inexpressible; for, while their adversary's party, which at the foreign courts was called the French faction, wore an air of joy and triumph, which seemed to arise from an assurance of success, the Austrian party was silent, dejected, and inactive, the objects of the public detestation, and trembled lest they should likewise soon be the public victims. No possibility appeared of avoiding the thunder which was preparing to burst upon their heads: but, alas! why do I exult thus unseasonably? They had but too many resources.* It was not by entreaties, nor a noble despair, with which they were inclined to oppose a prince whom Europe had chosen to defend and avenge her: the head which gave motion to this great body must be laid low, and that by a murder. Never had treachery, poisoning, assassination, gained a triumph so infamously great—a triumph so shameful, so detested, that no

* "There cannot be a doubt," says Pèrefixe, "that there were many conspiracies against the life of this good king, since he had notice of it from twenty different quarters; since printed accounts of his death were published in Spain and at Milan; since a courier passed through the city of Liege, eight days before he was assassinated, who said he was going with news to the princes of Germany of his being killed; and since, at Montargis, a note was found on the altar, containing a prediction of his approaching death by a method determined upon," &c. (p. 409). The Archbishop of Embrun, Honorius du Laurens, brother of the king's first physician, being in company with other prelates, said, at the very time the king was murdered, "It is impossible but some mischief must happen to the king from the present situation of affairs: perhaps at this very time we are talking of him, some disaster happens to him." (First Letter of Nicholas Pasquier.) "A priest of Douai said, at the moment of his assassination, that they were murdering the greatest monarch on earth. The sister of Villars Houdan, governor of Dieppe, a nun at St. Paul, in Picardy, said to her abbess, 'Madam, order prayers to be said for the king, for they are murdering him: and, a moment after, 'Alas! he is killed.'" (Matthieu, ib. p. 835.) Pasquier says further, in the same letter, that La Font, provost of Bayonne, in 1608, came to the king to give him notice that there was a design formed against his person; and that, two or three days before this prince was stabbed, the same La Font again told the chancellor that he who was to kill the king was actually in Paris; that it had been revealed to him, &c. This fact is the same mentioned by Du Pleix (p. 411), under the name of a gentleman of Béarn. Pasquier adds, that a merchant of Douai, writing, fifteen days before this murder happened,

words can express all its horror. With grief I proceed to acquaint the reader with the particulars of that fatal accident, the remembrance of which still draws tears of blood from my heart.

What shall we think of those black presages which it is but too certain this unfortunate prince had of his cruel destiny? They were, indeed, dreadful and surprising to the last degree.* I have already related with what reluctance

to a merchant at Rouen, asked if it was true that the king was killed. One of the principal inhabitants of Cambrai said, eight days before, "This old man has great designs, but he will not go much further;" and many other circumstances of the like kind. There are also some particulars mentioned in the first volume of the Life of Marie de Médicis (p. 68); and in many other writings.

* Marshal Bassompierre speaks of it in his Memoirs (vol. i. p. 292, et seq.) in the following manner: "He said to me a little before that time, 'I do not know, Bassompierre, what is the matter with me; but I cannot persuade myself I shall ever go to Germany, nor can I believe thou wilt go into Italy.' He often said to me and others, 'I believe I shall die soon.' The queen had a violent inclination to be crowned before the king's departure for Germany; but the king was in no way desirous of it, as well to avoid the expense, as because he was not at all fond of such great festivals." It is highly probable this prince carefully concealed from every one but M. de Sully the true motives which induced him to be against this ceremony. "Nevertheless," continues this writer, "as he was the best husband in the world, he consented to it, and deferred his journey to Germany till after she should have made her public entry into Paris. The coronation of the queen was performed with the utmost magnificence it was capable of. The king was unusually gay during the ceremony. He said to the queen, the Duke of Guise, and to me also, 'None of you know me thoroughly: but I shall die one of these days; and when you have lost me you will find what I really was, and the difference between me and other men.' I said to him, 'Good God, Sire, will you always disquiet yourself thus, and continually talk of your dying soon? These expressions are not proper. You will still live, please God, many happy years. There is no happiness comparable to yours; you are in the flower of your age, in perfect health and strength of body; more loaded with honours than any other mortal; enjoying, with the greatest tranquillity, the most flourishing kingdom in the world; loved, and even adored by your subjects; possessed of great estates, and money in abundance; fine houses; a beautiful wife; handsome children, growing up apace. What can you wish for more?' He, sighing, answered, 'My friend, I must lose them all soon,'" &c. "It was observed," says L'Etoile in his Memoirs, "that on throwing gold and silver medals among the people, according to custom, there was no cry of 'God save the king!' or 'God save

he permitted the ceremony of the queen's coronation to go forward; the nearer the moment approached, the more his terrors increased. In this state of overwhelming horror, which at first I thought an unpardonable weakness, he opened his whole heart to me. His own words will be more affecting than all I can say. "Oh! my friend," said he, "this coronation does not please me: I know not what is

the queen!' I shall pass over," continues this writer, "the dreams it was reported both his majesty and the queen had that night, of a house falling on him in the street called Rue de la Ferronnerie, &c. It is an indisputable fact, that about six months ago, the king being at Zamet's, and having dined there, he retired alone into a room, saying he would lie down; and sent for Thomassin, who was esteemed the most celebrated astrologer of that time (and it was even said he dealt with the devil), to come to him there: and his majesty, having put several questions to him on different matters relating to his person and kingdom, Thomassin told him he must take care of himself in May, 1610; and even pointed out to him the day and hour in which he would be killed. But the king, making a jest of him and his astrology, sometimes pulling him by the hair, and sometimes by the beard, made him take two or three turns round the room, and sent him away in this manner. He deserves to be commended for this; and much more had he not listened to him at all, and banished all such pests from his court and kingdom." (Anno 1610. See also in Mezerai's History, in 4to, Paris, anno 1667, vol. iii. p. 1447, the different prognostications of this prince's death, which came to the knowledge of the public at that time and since.) P. Matthieu observes that the queen waking in the night in great fright and agitation, said to the king, who inquired the cause of it, "I was dreaming somebody stabbed you with a knife on the staircase." "Thank God," replied the king, "it is only a dream." The same writer adds to these predictions several expressions of Henry IV. as to many instances of that secret presage which arises in the mind on the approach of some inevitable catastrophe, or what at least is deemed so, after the event has happened; such are those he made use of to the queen: "My dear, if this is not done on Thursday, after Friday is once past you will see me no more; no, on Friday I shall bid you adieu." Another time: "Go on, go on, queen regent." To the same, retiring to her devotions: "My dear, make confession for yourself and me too." To the courtiers, showing them the dauphin: "This is your king." Speaking of the queen's public entry: "I have nothing to do with it; I shall not see it." —"Let us not laugh so much on Friday, for we shall weep on Sunday," &c. (vol. ii. book iv. p. 810 et seq.) Morizot observes that, at the queen's coronation, the painter, instead of enamelling her coat of arms argent, which the house of Médicis bears, through ignorance painted it chesnut, the colour of widows; and, instead of palms, he encircled it with twisted cords, another mark of widowhood. (Hen. Mag. p. 51.)

the meaning of it, but my heart tells me some fatal accident will happen." He sat down, as he spoke these words, upon a low chair, which I had caused to be made on purpose for him, and which was always kept in my closet, and resigning himself up to all the horror of his melancholy apprehensions, he grasped the case of his reading-glass hard between his fingers, and continued in a profound reverie; then, suddenly starting up, and striking his hands together, he exclaimed, "*Pardieu!* I shall die in this city; they will murder me here; I see plainly that they have made my death their only resource. Oh! this cursed coronation, it will be the cause of my death!" "My God! Sire," said I to him, "what a thought have you entertained! If you persist in it, it is my opinion that you ought to break off this coronation, your journey, and your war; if you wish it should be so, it is not difficult to satisfy you." The like discourse being afterwards renewed two or three times, he at last said, "Yes, yes, break off this coronation, and let me never hear more of it; my mind will then be freed from those apprehensions which the advices I have received have given rise to: I shall then leave this city, and have nothing to fear."

"I would not yield to your solicitations," added he, "but that it has been foretold to me I should be murdered at a public ceremony, and in a coach, and hence proceed my fears." "You never mentioned this to me, Sire," I replied; "and I have been often surprised to hear you cry out when in a coach, and seem so much alarmed at a danger so inconsiderable; you whom I have often beheld unmoved in all the rage of war, amidst volleys of cannon and musket shots, and environed by swords and pikes. However, since this notion affects you to such a degree, I would advise you, Sire, to depart to-morrow; let the coronation be performed without you, or defer it till some other time; and let it be long ere you return to Paris, or get into a coach. Shall I send directly to Notre Dame and St. Denis, to put a stop to the preparations, and send back the workmen?" "I would consent to it willingly," said the king; "but what will my wife, who has this coronation strangely in her head, say to it?" "Let her say what she will," resumed I, finding my proposal had greatly pleased the king; "however, I cannot believe that

she will continue obstinate when she knows what apprehensions you have of some disaster happening."

I did not wait for any other order, but sent immediately to put a stop to the preparations for the coronation. It is with much regret that I am obliged to confess that, notwithstanding all my endeavours, the queen would not give her husband this satisfaction. I shall pass over in silence the prayers, entreaties, and arguments, with which for three whole days I endeavoured to move her.* It was Henry's part to yield; and, as in certain moments he was the first to condemn himself for his fears, he left off speaking to me of the coronation; or by me to the queen. The preparations again went forward, and again his apprehensions returned. It was in these words (which he had perpetually in his mouth) that he expressed those apprehensions: "Ah! my friend, I shall never go out of this city; they will murder me here: this cursed coronation will be the cause of my death." I shall never forget those sad words.

In this affair, there are some private circumstances which I think it my duty to suppress. I would carry my silence still further, if I did not think it needless, in things which my domestics and other persons had some knowledge of. The following fact is of that number: Schomberg, who lived with me in so great a degree of intimacy that he seemed one of the family, had a note brought to him by a page, as he sat at table one day, which I observed, as it was slid into his hand very mysteriously. I rallied him upon the note, alleging that it came from a mistress. He answered, that he would assure me, without reading it, that it was not what I imagined, and promised to show me the contents of what nature soever they were. As soon as he rose from table, he went to a window to read his letter: it was very short; he put it into my hands, saying that it came from Mademoiselle de Gournay—a name that would remove all suspicions of gallantry—adding, that she entreated him to come to her immediately, having something of the utmost consequence to impart to him. He promised to return directly, and acquaint me with the affair; and accordingly he came back in half an hour.

* This overthrows Matthieu's assertion, in opposition to all other historians, that the queen was not at all desirous of being crowned.

This lady had been informed by a woman,* who had belonged to the Marchioness of Verneuil, that there was ac-

* The author means Jacqueline le Voyer, of the village of Orsin, between Epernon and Ablis, wife of Isaac de Varennes, esquire, lord of Coman, Escoman or Escouman; she is best known by the first name. Her history is an incident, in the process against Ravaillac, of too much importance to be passed over in silence: we shall have occasion to recur to it more than once. "She made a declaration in writing," say the Memoirs for the Hist. of France (p. 357), "which contains a very circumstantial account of Ravaillac's conspiracy and designs, and named the Duke of Epernon and the Marchioness of Verneuil as the contrivers of them. Neither the king, the queen, nor any of those she addressed herself to, in order to make a discovery of what she knew, would listen to her, but treated her as a mad woman. On Tuesday, the 25th of January, 1611—for this prosecution was not determined before the following year was far advanced—the chambers of the parliament met for the examination of La Coman, when several persons were ordered to be taken into custody, and others to attend in person. La Villiers Hotman, the wife of the president St. André, and Charlotte du Tillet, her sister, appeared. La Coman spoke well and sensibly, with great resolution and firmness, and without varying in her answers and accusations; she confirmed what she said with such powerful reasons and strong proofs, that her judges were astonished at them. She had formerly been in the service of Queen Margaret, to whom she applied, with intent to make a discovery to her of this important conspiracy and design; whereof the queen regent being informed, she called her a wicked woman, who accused everybody; and said she did not know but she might at last accuse even herself. The reflections she and Du Tillet cast on one another on being confronted, on account of their irregularities, were diverting enough. Had La Coman stopped there, she had been safe enough; but to go such lengths as she did is too dangerous; for those who accuse the great often lose both their estates and life in the attempt, which puts me in fear for her." There is this note in the margin on this Du Tillet: "Charlotte du Tillet, a woman of intrigue and confidant of the Marchioness of Verneuil, was the person who informed Madame d'Escoman of Ravaillac's designs." "On Sunday, the 30th of January, the Marchioness of Verneuil, on the depositions of La Coman, was examined by the chief president at his own house, where I had ordered her to be summoned to attend for that purpose, which examination lasted from one o'clock till five in the afternoon." Another marginal note on this place says: "She was accused by Madame d'Escoman, and was only ordered to attend to be examined, though the matter in question was no less than the assassination of the king, and the highest kind of treason." "On Saturday, the 5th of March, the court sat on the case of La Coman, and the other prisoners accused by her of being concerned in the assassination of the king, when an arrêt was made, which was said to be like the sentence of the Areopagites, who, when they found a cause too full of difficulties

tually a conspiracy formed against the king's person; and, inquiring who were the persons concerned in it, the woman

to be determined by them, put off the giving judgment on it for a hundred years; thus the court, finding no small difficulty in this case, ordered it to stand over for judgment till a more convenient time, in the interim opening the doors of the prison to the accused, and keeping La Coman alone there, who in appearance ought to have been set at liberty before any of the rest; but the times would not permit it, and the chief president himself, who was present when this order was made, was of this opinion, out of respect for the parties accused, who nevertheless were not acquitted by this arrêt, which was no small matter of disquiet both to them and the State." There is this note in the margin: "This arrêt ordains that a further information should be taken in this matter; and that, in the mean time, Stephen Sauvage, valet de chambre to Mons. d'Entragues the elder, and James Gaudin, accused, and prisoners in the Conciergerie, should be set at liberty. A definitive sentence was given on the 31st of July following, whereby the Marchioness of Verneuil, Madame du Tillet, Gaudin, and Sauvage are declared innocent, and acquitted of assassinating the king; and Mademoiselle d'Ecoman is condemned, as guilty of false accusation, to be imprisoned for life, all her goods, chattels, and estates to be seized and confiscated without restitution. It is further ordered that all other prosecutions on this account shall cease. This punishment, if D'Ecoman's accusation was groundless, is very gentle." (Ibid. p. 361.) The sentence against her had been under the consideration of the court from Saturday the 23rd; and the judges were divided in opinion, nine against nine." (P. 377.) The account which the "Merc. Franç." (anno 1611, p. 14, et seq.) gives of this affair of D'Ecoman is directly contrary to L'Etoile's; and as that account is supported by an unquestionable evidence, one cannot refuse giving credit to it. It is there proved that this woman, on account of her infamous manner of life, having been shut up in the Hôtel Dieu, and being afterwards imprisoned in the Châtelet, where even sentence of death was pronounced on her, in order to obtain her liberty and procure herself favour from Queen Margaret, invented this calumny; and she accused the Marchioness of Verneuil of sending Ravaillac to her with a letter, desiring her to procure him an interview with Mademoiselle du Tillet, and charging Du Tillet with having admitted that assassin into her room when she herself was present. She was convicted of having been guilty of many falsehoods in the relation of these facts; and, amongst others, that she had never seen, and did not even know, Ravaillac; that she had not indeed so much as heard his name before he was brought to the Conciergerie, which is proved from this woman's own words; that Gaudin, on being confronted with her, absolutely confounded her; and, in short, that there was not one of all those who were confronted with her but proved her guilty of falsehood, imposition, and slander. The author of "L'Histoire de la Mère et du Fils," in justification of the arrêt of the parliament, which appears so blameworthy to L'Etoile, says: "That

named the Marchioness of Verneuil herself, Monsieur N——, and some others; upon which Mademoiselle de Gournay resolved to give the king notice of the plot, by informing the queen of it through one of the women of her chamber named Catherine de Selvage. Mademoiselle de Gournay, after further reflection, did not think this sufficient, and cast her eyes upon M. de Schomberg, as one who might mention the affair directly to his majesty. M. de Schomberg, after he had acquainted me with these circumstances, confessed to me that he was greatly perplexed in what manner to act, and desired I would give him my advice. The thing was too important to be concealed, and too dangerous to be despised; but, on the other hand, by disclosing it to the king, we exposed him to the necessity of making implacable enemies of all those who were involved in the accusation, for we knew this prince would not fail to mention them publicly. My wife only was present at our consultation.

We agreed, at length, that Schomberg should mention it to the king, but with all possible circumspection; and, if his majesty should desire to know who the accomplices were, he was to refer him to the two women already named, as best able to inform him. No one is unacquainted with the event. The woman from whom Mademoiselle de Gournay heard all that she had related to M. de Schomberg, being interrogated, firmly maintained her deposition, and persisted in it to her death. This is a circumstance which will never be forgotten by those who endeavoured to draw some inferences from the great care that was taken to suppress all the papers relating to the trial of the horrid parricide.*

august body would have condemned her to be publicly burnt, had the false accusation, of which she was found guilty, been of any other nature; but in cases where the life of kings is in question, the fear of shutting the door against such discoveries as may be made, causes the rigour of the laws to be dispensed with." (Vol. i. p. 154.) See a paper reprinted in the fourth volume of L'Etoile's new Memoirs, p. 250, entitled 'Interrogations for the Examination of Madame de Coman, and her Answer thereto;' in which this letter to Mademoiselle de Gournay and the Count of Schomberg is mentioned: "She knew so well how to manage her discourse, and supported her accusations in so resolute a manner, that they did not find sufficient grounds to put her to death." (Mém. de la Reg. de Marie de Médicis, vol. i. p. 74.)

* This suppression of the proceedings in the trial of Ravaillac by the

The ceremony of the queen's coronation was performed, in the mean time, with all the magnificence usual upon such

parliament of Paris is a fact universally known. To the reflections thrown on his judges on this account, it has been further added that no examination, or at least a very short and slight one, was made by them into the manner of the death of several persons confined, on this account, in the prisons, which to many appeared to be unnatural; that they neglected to summon and interrogate many other persons who were capable of throwing great light upon this matter; such as the mother of the murderer, who knew very well that he left Angoulême on Easter-day, before he had performed the devotions of that festival; many of his relations whom he had named in the course of his examination; the parish priest of St. Séverin; Father Saint-Mary Magdalen, of the Order of the Bernardines; the Capuchins of Angoulême, who had given him a heart made of cost-mary root in a reliquary, with some wood of the true cross (at least they made him believe so), and which, they told him, would cure him of a fever he had then got; that they also had not examined the Sieur Guillebaut, a canon of Angoulême; Father Gilles Osières, an old visitor of the Order of Cordeliers at Paris; Le Fèvre, another young Cordelier; several of the Cardinal du Perron's almoners, whom Ravaillac said he knew very well by sight, but whose names he did not know; certain persons called Béliard, Bréteau, Colletet, du Bois, de Limoges, &c. It was also complained of that Ravaillac had been so carelessly guarded in prison, that, during the thirteen days he continued there, all who chose where admitted to see and talk with him. Another complaint of still greater weight, if the fact be true, is, that at the first pull of the horses at his execution, Ravaillac having desired some one would take his confession as that of a dying man, the clerk Voisin, who took it, wrote it so ill that, though it is still in being (as it is said), no sworn notary or scrivener has yet been found skilful enough to decipher a single word of it. All these considerations make an infinite number of persons conclude that the parliament acted in this manner out of fear that, in case the truth had been discovered and made public, they would have been necessitated to proceed with the utmost rigour against too many, and those too powerful persons. It would be labour lost to endeavour to persuade all those people of the contrary. But after all, since, by the suppression of the proceedings in this affair, there does not at present remain sufficient information whereon, with certainty, to form any judgment of the truth, which, even at that time, could never be cleared up, it must be owned that one cannot, without rashness, pretend to determine anything in this matter at the distance of a hundred and thirty years which have since elapsed; and God forbid I should expose myself to such a reproach. If, in obedience to the laws prescribed to every author of memoirs, I have submitted to join to my text here, and at the end of this book, whatever I could recollect from the most credible historians, relating to this particular fact, as I have constantly done in respect to every historical relation given in this work, my justification,

extraordinary occasions. It was to last several days, and to be terminated by the most splendid show of all on Sunday, the 16th of May.* The king had so much complaisance for the queen as to assist at a ceremony which pierced him to the heart; but, when it was over, he thought he should have nothing more to detain him, and Monday, May 17, was the day appointed for his departure. I should not have stayed at Paris so long, but a violent pain which I felt in my neck and throat, occasioned by a wound I had received there many years before, obliged me to have recourse to my physicians, who ordered me to bathe three mornings successively in my chamber. I did not envy the happiness of those who, having protracted their departure out of curiosity to see the ceremony of the queen's coronation, ran eagerly to the show: the deep concern it gave Henry rendered it almost as odious to me as to him. The Count of Soissons alleged that there was

supposing any to be necessary in so plain a case, will be, that I have stated both sides of the question with equal impartiality; and, on the other side, in answer to those who may complain that, after all that has been said, nothing is clearly decided, I would say it is no fault of mine that nothing but conjectures can be come at in this matter, and that even those conjectures should frequently destroy one another.

* The ceremony of the coronation was performed at St. Denis on Thursday, the 13th of May. "Le Merc. Franç.," Matthieu, the 9361st volume of the MSS. royaux, and other historians, give a detail of the magnificence and manner of it. Preparations were made for the queen to make her public entry on the Sunday following, with a pomp surpassing even that of the coronation. Henry IV. said on Tuesday, "I will lie at St. Denis on Wednesday; I will return from thence on Thursday; I will put my affairs in order on Friday; on Saturday I will run at the ring; on Sunday my wife shall make her entry; on Monday my daughter Vendôme shall be married; on Tuesday we will keep the marriage feast; and on Wednesday to horse and away." (Matth. ibid. p. 804.) This historian, speaking of the ceremony of the coronation at St. Denis, says: "Henry IV. was surprised at the Spanish ambassador not taking off his hat in the church. Cicogne told him that the late King of Spain only just took off his hat at the elevation of the host, and immediately put it on again, as if he had been saluting a gentleman of five hundred livres a year. On which the king said: 'If we had those sentiments of religion we ought to have, we should show still greater reverence to those mysteries than we do; for we ought to believe that, after the words of consecration are pronounced, till the communion, Jesus Christ is always present on the altar.'"

some failure in the ceremonial with respect to him; and made use of this pretence to quit the court in disgust.*

The ceremony, for some reason or other, being suspended, the unfortunate king had destined part of Friday, May the 14th (that most miserable day for France), to be spent in conference with me, as it was the last interview we were likely to have before his departure. I was not ignorant of what he had to say to me. A malicious report had been spread, that, while in appearance he was preparing to fall upon the house of Austria with such formidable forces, he had privately entered into an agreement with them, not only to proceed no further, but also to betray all his allies, provided they would consent that he should keep Cleves for himself, and the entire succession, which had been the occasion of the armament. To this his enemies added another condition, which they said he demanded, namely, that Spain should put the Prince and Princess of Condé into his hands.†

* "This retreat was differently spoken of by different persons: nevertheless, it is certain that his majesty, after having granted him everything he desired, against his own inclinations, sent him word that whatever he had promised him he would perform, but he might be assured, at the same time, that he would no longer hold any place in his favour; and that, having compelled him to grant what he did not approve of, he should never see him again with pleasure; which message being delivered to the count, he immediately mounted his horse, and, taking the princess his wife with him, retired to one of his country seats." (Mém. pour servir à l'Hist. de France, anno 1610.)

† "The nuncio finding himself at last closely urged by his majesty, who was inquiring of him what was thought at Rome and in Italy of the war he was going to undertake, answered, that those who had the best information were of opinion that the principal cause of that war was the Princess of Condé, whom he wanted to have back; when the king, in violent anger, and swearing, not *ventre-saint-gris!* as usual, but by ——, cried out, 'Yes, most certainly I do want to have her back, and I will have her back; no one can or shall hinder it, not even God's lieutenant on earth.'" (Mém. pour l'Hist. de France, anno 1610.) These words ought not to prevent us from considering as a calumny the report to which some writers have too lightly given credit, that the chief inducement Henry IV. had to commence so important a war was to oblige Spain to deliver the Prince, or rather the Princess, of Condé up to him; which seems to me not to stand in need of any proof. No less unjust and malicious is this other charge, that this prince had agreed with the court of Spain not to push his design any further, on condition it would give up to him the states in contest.

Henry was desirous of convincing me that this report, so injurious to his reputation, was absolutely false. It had been likewise insinuated to him that the reluctance I discovered to take upon me the charge of furnishing the provisions, was because I had flattered myself that he would, of his own accord, and without my solicitation, erect the post of marshal-general of the camps and armies into a great office of the crown, and invest me with this high dignity: however, I solemnly declare that I never entertained such a thought. The friendship this great king expressed for me, and the confidence he placed in me, which towards the close of his life was greater than it had ever been, makes it no presumption in me to declare that I believe, if such had been my desire, he would not have refused me a favour which, great as it was, was still less considerable than others he had offered me; nor will I scruple to assert that he thought me very capable of such an employment: all that I am doubtful of is, whether he really had any such intentions with regard to me, and whether he was not dissuaded from them by the artful insinuations of my enemies, who affirmed that I had resolved to quit the care of his finances as soon as I was raised to this eminent dignity.

It was therefore, I presume, to make me some new solicitations with respect to furnishing the provisions, that Henry sent La Varenne, on Wednesday morning, to tell me I must meet him in the Tuileries, where he had a desire to walk with me alone. La Varenne found me bathing, and perceiving that I was preparing, notwithstanding, to obey his majesty's orders, he prevented me, saying he was very sure that the king would come himself to the Arsenal when he knew I was indisposed, and that he would be very angry with me if I exposed myself to any danger by going out when there was no necessity for it. "Only stay," added he, "till I have spoken to him, and I will return immediately and tell you what he says." Accordingly he came back in half an hour. "Sir," said he, "the king desires that you will finish your bathing, and forbids you to go abroad to-day; for M. du Laurens assures him that your health will suffer if you do. His majesty is going into the city, for which he will tell you

his reason to-morrow* morning at five o'clock, when he will be, without fail, at the Arsenal, to settle all affairs with you; for he is resolved to set out on Monday at any rate. He says that what you said to him concerning his passage, and every other part of his design, is just; and that nothing shall have power to alter his intentions but 'some misfortune either to your person or his own' (those were his very words). And he commands you," continued La Varenne, "to receive him to-morrow in your nightgown and nightcap, that you may not suffer any inconvenience from your bathing: he declares, if he finds you dressed, he will be very angry." La Varenne, after he had thus delivered the king's message, added from himself, that his majesty had taken my advice, and sent away the letter which had been written to the archduke, although he thought it a useless piece of formality, "For I am resolved," said this prince, "to make myself be believed one way or other." My servants have since told me that, when La Varenne quitted my apartment, they observed an unusual sadness upon his countenance, the cause of which they could not comprehend; nor indeed could he himself account for it.

At four o'clock in the afternoon, as I had just entered my wardrobe, I heard Castenet, and afterwards my wife, utter a great cry, and that instant my whole house resounded with inquiries after me, and this mournful exclamation: "Ah! my God, all is lost! France is undone!" I went out precipitately, undressed as I was. "Ah! sir," cried they on all sides, "the king has just been dangerously wounded in his side with a knife." It was not possible for me to doubt a moment whether the dreadful news was true. Saint-Michel†

* Henry IV. in reality did not intend to go to the Arsenal till the next morning; but he unfortunately changed that intention in the afternoon.

† Saint-Michel was one of his majesty's gentlemen in ordinary, who had followed him. He had drawn his sword to kill the assassin, when the Duke of Epernon called out to him, and to the footmen who had the same design, to stop, at the peril of their lives; to secure his person, but to take care not to do anything more. "The duke recollected," says the historian of his life, "the displeasure he had conceived at, and the fault that had been found with, those who killed James Clement," &c. (p. 238). P. Matthieu adds, "That Saint-Michel only snatched the knife out of Ravaillac's hands; that Count de Curson struck him on

entered immediately; he had been a witness almost of the blow, and brought the knife with which it was given, still reeking with blood. "Oh!" I exclaimed, raising my hands and eyes to heaven, in a distraction no words can describe, "this is what this poor prince always apprehended. Oh! my God, have pity upon him, upon us, and the State! it is done —he is murdered! God would not have permitted so cruel an accident, but to let loose all his wrath upon France, and to deliver her into foreign hands."

*** The different accounts of the assassination of Henry IV., and the observations upon them, which follow here in the former editions of these Memoirs, will be found further on.

the throat with the pommel of his sword; and that La Pierre, exempt of the guards, seized him, and put him into the hands of the footmen, who delivered him up to Montigny."

# BOOK XXVIII.

[1610—1611.]

Events which occurred immediately after the assassination of Henry IV.—A description of his person—Particulars relating to his life—His character—His good and bad qualities—Sully shuts himself up in the Bastille, but afterwards goes to the Louvre—The gracious reception given him by the queen—He assists at the ceremony of the bed of justice—Marie de Médicis settles a public and private council, in which the policy and maxims of government are entirely changed—Sully's complaints of these proceedings—He is not regarded—The Count of Soissons returns to court—Quarrels between him and Sully—Councils held concerning the armament set on foot by Henry, concerning the Duke of Savoy, &c., in which Sully makes fruitless representations against their proceedings—He resolves to resign his employments, and to retire from court—His family oppose this design—He sends Arnaud to Conchini, who receives with haughtiness his advances—Return of the Prince of Condé to court—Sully unites with him—The wise advice he gives him, notwithstanding which, this prince joins his enemies—Other plots of the court, and Sully's disputes with the ministers and courtiers—A further account of the affair of Cleves, and its conclusion.

AMIDST the first transports of my grief at the news of my dear master's death, I fancied that, though mortally wounded, some little remains of life might still be left him; and my mind eagerly welcoming this faint ray of hope and consolation, "Give me my clothes and boots," said I to those who were about me, "and saddle some of my best horses, for I will not use a coach, and let all my gentlemen hold themselves in readiness to accompany me." I had then only a few of my servants with me; for all the others, believing that I was too much indisposed to go out, or even to be dressed, had dispersed several ways; but the report of the king being wounded, which was soon spread over all quarters of the city, had brought them all together again before I had mounted my horse, and with them so many other persons, who were par-

ticularly attached to me, that I had scarcely reached the house of Beaumarchais when I had above a hundred horse in my train, which, in a few moments more, was increased to a hundred and fifty; for, as I advanced, I met several of the king's faithful servants, who were coming to my house, to ask my advice concerning what measures they should take in this most miserable conjuncture. The universal grief* and consternation which I now beheld was a proof how tenderly this good prince was beloved in his capital. Nothing could be more affecting than the different ways by which the citizens and populace of this great city expressed their affection and their sorrow: groans, tears, loud cries of grief, a mournful silence, arms raised towards heaven, clasped hands, some striking their bosoms, others shaking their heads with a melancholy air,—this was the spectacle which was everywhere presented to my view. Some of them looking dejected upon me, said, "Ah! sir, we are all undone; our good king is dead."

As I passed through the Rue de la Pourpointerie, a man,

* The description Pèrefixe gives of it (p. 415) is quite affecting: "When the report of this tragical accident had been spread all over Paris, and it was certainly known that the king, who at first was thought to be only wounded, was actually dead, that mixture of hope and fear, which till then had kept this great city in suspense, at once burst forth in loud cries and violent groans; some became motionless and insensible through grief; others ran about the streets quite frantic; many embraced their friends without saying anything to them but 'Alas! what a misfortune!' some shut themselves up in their houses; others threw themselves on the ground: one might see women with their hair dishevelled, crying and lamenting; fathers said to their children, 'What will become of you? you have lost your father.' Those who had greater apprehensions for the future, and who remembered the horrible calamities of the late civil wars, deplored the misfortunes of France, and said that the fatal stroke which had pierced the heart of the king, at the same time gave a deadly wound to every Frenchman. It was said many were so strongly affected by this event that they died on the spot, others in a few days afterwards. In short, it was not the appearance of a mourning for one single man, but as if the half of all mankind were dead. One would have thought every one had lost all his family, possessions, and hopes, by the death of this great king. All kings and princes," adds the historian Matthieu, "lamented his death. The king of Spain, compelled by truth and grief, declared that the greatest commander on earth was dead. The Venetians said, 'Our king is dead.'" (Ibid. p. 834.)

whom I had not perceived before passed close by me, and put a note into my hands, which I gave to some of those who were nearest me to read; it contained only these few words: "Sir, where are you going? It is done—I have seen him dead—if you enter the Louvre you will not escape any more than he." This note gave me a dreadful certainty of what I was seeking to know. I could not refrain from bursting into tears; the sad truth was confirmed to me a thousand different ways. Du Jon, whom I met near St. Innocent, said to me, "Sir, our evil is without remedy. God has disposed of him—I know it—I have seen him speechless: take care of yourself, for this strange blow must have fatal consequences. On entering the Rue St. Honoré, another note, like the former, was thrown to me; yet I still continued my course to the Louvre. My train was now increased to three hundred horse, when I met Vitry at the end of the street; he came and embraced me, breaking out into lamentable cries, which it was not in his power to restrain; never did I behold a man in such affliction! "Ah! sir," cried he, "they have murdered our good master! He is dead—France is ruined! As for me, I am persuaded I have but a short time to live; I am going out of France, never more to return to it; we must now bid farewell to that order and regularity you had established. But, sir," said he afterwards, "where are you going with this train? They will not suffer you to approach the Louvre, nor to enter there with more than two or three attendants, which I would not advise you to do;* for I am

* By all the Duke of Sully's expressions here one may perceive he thought it incumbent upon him to justify himself against a fault he is accused of having committed on this occasion. Marshal Bassompierre speaks of it as follows: "As we came out, going towards the Rue St. Antoine, we met the Duke of Sully, with about forty horse, who, as he approached, said to us with a melancholy accent, 'Gentlemen, if your vows of service to the king, whom we have just now most unhappily lost, have made that impression on your minds which they ought on that of every good Frenchman, swear on the spot that you will serve the king his son and successor with the same fidelity as you did him; and that you will venture your persons and lives in revenging his death.' I answered him, 'Sir, we are obliging others to take this oath, and have no need to be advised to perform what we think ourselves so strongly bound to do.' I do not know whether my answer surprised him, or whether he repented of having come so far from his fortress; but, turning about, he immediately left us, and went and shut himself

greatly deceived if this plot ends here. I have seen some persons, who have so little sensibility of the loss they have

up in the Bastille, sending, at the same time, to seize all the bread in the markets and bakers' shops. He also sent in great haste to M. de Rohan, his son-in-law, to make him come back, with six thousand Swiss, who were in Champagne, and of whom he was colonel-general, to march directly to Paris: which was afterwards made use of as a pretext to exclude him from the management of affairs: besides this, Messieurs de Praslin and De Créquy, who came to summon him for that purpose, could never persuade him to wait on the king, as all the other great men did; nor did he go till the next day, when the Duke of Guise with difficulty prevailed on him to go; after which, he countermanded his son-in-law, with the Swiss, who had already advanced a day's march towards Paris." (Vol. i. p. 300.) L'Etoile only says: "M. de Sully, more dead than alive, came to wait on the queen, who received him kindly, continued him in all his posts, and sent him to the Arsenal to exercise the duties of his office." (Mém. Hist. de France, p. 309.) But his commentator appears to be of the same opinion with Bassompierre, from whom he quotes in the margin the passage we have recited here. The author of "L'Histoire de la Mère et du Fils" inveighs violently on this account against M. de Sully, though without making mention of his seizing the bread, or recalling the Swiss. He only accuses this minister of giving way, with too much weakness, to the fear he had conceived of his enemies about the queen. "Some of his friends," says he, "did everything in their power to engage him to the performance of his duty, and to get the better of his apprehensions and fears; but as persons of the greatest courage, on some occasions, become fearful and timorous, it was for some time impossible to inspire him with resolution enough for this purpose. It was a long time before he could recover his courage. Towards the evening, Saint-Géran, whom he had obliged, and who professed a great friendship for him, coming to him, at last prevailed on him to quit the Arsenal and go to the Louvre. When he came to the Croix-du-Trahoir, his apprehensions seized him again, and so powerfully, by reason of some intelligence he received at that place, that he went back with fifty or sixty horse, who accompanied him to the Bastille, of which he was captain; having desired M. de Saint-Géran to go and make his excuses to the queen, and assure her of his fidelity and readiness to serve her." (Vol. i. p. 49.) Viewing this account in the most unfavourable light, disadvantageous as it is to the Duke of Sully, it can only give room to blame him for having carried his precaution against any attempt on his person (which was looked upon as chimerical) too far; but the historian Matthieu, the best informed of all those writers, acquaints us that the fear this minister had conceived was not so groundless as his enemies have represented. He speaks of this matter in the following manner: "They had raised jealousies in the queen of the Duke of Sully, and she had been advised to secure his person, because he had the Bastille, the Arsenal, and the king's money in his possession. He had been bathing

sustained, that they cannot even affect the grief they ought to feel for it: this I have observed, and am ready to burst with rage at it; and if you were to see them, you would think as I do. I am of opinion that you ought to go back; there is business enough for you to do, without going to the Louvre."

This agreement of discourses, notes, and advices, struck me at length: I stopped short, and after consulting with Vitry, and ten or twelve of the principal persons who followed me, I thought it was the most prudent way to return home; and accordingly I contented myself with sending to offer my duty and services to the queen, and to assure her, at the same time, that, till she acquainted me with her orders, I would, with still greater assiduity than before, attend to the care of the Bastille, the Arsenal, the forces, and ordnance, and all the affairs of my government and other employments.

The reader must not expect to see in these Memoirs a more particular relation of this execrable crime: my grief is renewed by the sad remembrance of it, nor shall I cease to lament it but when I cease to live. It is with astonishment

that day, and being advertised of this unhappy accident, he got on horseback to go to the Louvre; but coming to the Croix-du-Trahoir, followed by about forty gentlemen, he received some advices which made him return. The queen sent the Duke of Guise to fetch him to her, who found him in the great walk of his garden, on the side next to the Bastille, and acquainted him with the queen's orders. He desired to be excused, because he had notice given him that some designs were formed against him. The determination he came to, on consulting with the Duke of Guise, the Count of Bethune, and some other friends, was to stay at home the rest of that day, and to see the queen on the day following, when the Duke of Guise promised to come and fetch him, and assured him that he and all his friends would lose their lives before they would suffer any harm to be done him. He went back to the queen, and got her approbation of the considerations that detained the Duke of Sully, upon the promise he had made of coming to wait on her the next day. Immediately afterwards the Duke of Sully, with a number of gentlemen, went into the Bastille, where he had caused all the bread to be brought that was found in the bakers' shops in Paris," &c. (Hist. of Louis XIII., pp. 2 and 3.) If we add to this what the Duke of Sully says of the notice he had received from every quarter, that this blow would be followed by terrible consequences which were not expected, we shall perhaps be convinced that it was only prudent in this minister to act thus for the sake of the public tranquillity and his own safety.

that I behold persons capable of hearing and speaking with coldness and insensibility of the greatest misfortune which ever befel this kingdom; in me the thought of it is attended with such horror, that I turn my eyes as much as possible from that deplorable object, and my tongue refuses to pronounce the name of the abominable monster* who was the cause of all our miseries; while inwardly I implore the Divine vengeance against him, and against those who armed his impious hand; the public outcry directs us to the authors of this detestable plot; nor can I hinder myself from exclaiming, with all the world, against a circumstance of which no one is ignorant. After the parricide had perpetrated his horrid design, he was guarded with so little care in the house† to which he was first carried, that during four hours all sorts of persons were permitted to see him and talk to him; and certain persons, whom it is not necessary to name here, made such an imprudent use of this liberty, that they were heard

* Francis Ravaillac was born at Angoulême, where he followed the profession of a schoolmaster, and was at this time between thirty-one and thirty-two years old. Matthieu thinks he was mad; but I can find nothing in his discourse, either during his imprisonment, or at the time of his execution, that affords any reason to charge him with madness, taking that word in its most usual sense, but only with foolhardiness, fury, and a distempered mind. On Thursday, the 27th of May, he was brought before the church of Notre-Dame, where he performed the *amende honorable;* from thence he was carried to the Grève, and there his breast, arms, thighs, &c., were torn with red-hot pincers, &c., he holding the knife in his right hand; after that, molten lead, and boiling oil and pitch, were poured on his wounds; and at last he was torn to pieces by four horses, his members were burned, and his ashes thrown into the air. The furious crowd were every moment ready to rush upon him and tear him to pieces, and refused to sing the *Salve.* He was somewhat tall and bulky, and of so robust a make, that the horses could not tear him to pieces, but the executioner was obliged to cut him into quarters, which the populace dragged about the city, &c. (See the historians quoted above.) Pasquier says he was related, on the mother's side, to Poltrot, who assassinated the Duke of Guise. (Ibid. p. 32.) I do not find there is any appearance of truth in what Guy Patin relates (Letter 122), of Ravaillac having a brother who died in Holland, and who, on his death-bed, declared, that if his brother had miscarried in his attempt, he himself would have undertaken the same thing, to revenge, as he said, the injury Henry IV. had done them in debauching their sister, and neglecting her afterwards.

† In the Hôtel de Retz. L'Etoile says he was carried the next day from the Hôtel d'Epernon to the Conciergerie.

to call him "Friend," and bid him (I repeat their own words) "take care that he did not accuse good men who were innocent, and good Catholics," because that would be an unpardonable crime, and worthy of eternal damnation. Some persons, truly scandalised at what they saw, loudly exclaimed against such negligence; which obliged them afterwards to guard the murderer with more care.

However that may be, such was the tragical end of a prince, on whom nature, with a lavish profusion, had bestowed all her advantages, except that of a death such as he merited. I have already observed that his stature was so happy, and his limbs formed with such proportion, as constitutes not only what is called a well-made man, but indicates strength, vigour, and activity;* his complexion was animated; all the lineaments of his face had that agreeable liveliness† which forms a sweet and happy physiognomy, and perfectly suited to that engaging easiness of manners which, though sometimes mixed with majesty, never lost the graceful affability

* "Henry IV.," says Le Grain, "was of a middling stature, rather tall than low; his forehead was broad, his nose aquiline and *royal*, his mouth finely formed, and his lips red," &c. (Décade de Henry le Grand, book i.) Morizot, being worse informed, says, on the contrary, that he was low, and of square make; and asserts that he dressed himself nearly in the same manner in winter as in summer. (Chap. xlix.)

† D'Aubigné informs us that he had an extreme piercing sight, and (to make use of his own words) a monstrous quick hearing; of which he gives this convincing proof: "The king," says he, "being in bed at La Garnache, in a large state-chamber, and his bed, besides the curtains, being surrounded with a thick frieze, Frontenac and I lay in the opposite corner of the room, in a bed furnished in the same manner; and joking about the king, I having my lips close to his ear, and lowering my voice as much as possible, he often asked, 'What dost thou say?' The king answered, 'Deaf that you are, can't you hear? He says I want to make two friends by doing one good office.' We got off by desiring him to go to sleep, for we had still a great deal more to say of him." (Vol. iii. chap. xxi.) The answer which the Duke of Bellegarde made to this prince is much of the same kind as this: When both of them were lying in the same room, shortly after the death of Henry III., Henry IV. woke Bellegarde three or four times in the night, to persuade him to give up some of the posts he enjoyed, in favour of some persons the king named to him. "I will with all my heart, Sire," says the master of the horse at last; "but, for God's sake, don't wake me any more." This taste for raillery and joking, as is always the case on such occasions, from the prince's example, passed to his courtiers: and Siri, with some appearance of reason, blames Henry IV. on this ac-

and easy gaiety* so natural to that great prince. With regard to the qualities of his heart and mind, I shall tell the reader nothing new, by saying that he was candid, sincere, grateful, compassionate, generous,† wise, penetrating: in a word, endowed with all those great and amiable qualities

count, condemning it as a fault in a king; raillery never failing to create quarrels amongst the great, and always diminishing the reverence due to the prince. He produces many examples of this. (Mem. Recond. vol. i. p. 560.)

* The history of Henry IV. furnishes innumerable instances of his turn for pleasantry, and of his affable and popular manner of address; which perhaps contributed more than his great qualities to procure him the love of the people. "The king," say the Mem. for the History of France, vol. ii. p. 277, "going one day to the Louvre, and meeting a poor woman driving a cow, he stopped her, and asked the price of the cow; the woman having told him the price, '*Ventre-saint-gris!*' says the king, 'she is not worth that; I will give you so much.' 'I see,' replied the woman, 'you are not a dealer in cows.' 'What makes you think so?' says the king, who had many noblemen with him. 'Don't you see all these calves are following me?'" His gardener at Fontainebleau once complaining to him that he could not make anything grow in that soil, "Friend," says Henry, looking at the Duke of Epernon, "sow it with Gascons; they will thrive anywhere." A man who was an extraordinary great eater being shown him, he said, "*Ventre-saint-gris!* if I had six men like thee in my kingdom, I should hang them all; such rascals would soon create a famine." It is also related of him, that having one day boasted to the Spanish ambassador that he would go to breakfast at Milan, hear mass at Rome, and dine at Naples, that ambassador answered, "Sire, if your majesty goes so fast, perhaps you may go to vespers in Sicily." He was never displeased at any repartees that were made to him of this kind. Matthieu says, not one of his court was able to tell a story so agreeably as he.

† "As to his enemies, he always spoke of them with respect, even when he was very young, how much soever he was offended with them; he never named any one of his enemies without giving him the title of Monsieur." (Le Grain's Décade, book viii.) "All the forests in my kingdom would not be sufficient," said he, "to furnish timber for gallowses, if all those who have written or preached against me were to be hanged." When he had been prevailed on to read some libels on the late queen, his mother, he shrugged up his shoulders, saying, "Oh the wretch! But he returned to France under protection of my passport, and I will not have any harm done to him." (Merc. Franç., anno 1610, p. 428.) He showed not the same indulgence where offence was given to other persons, as in his own case. "On Twelfth-day, as the king was going to receive the communion, M. de Roquelaure, judging this the fittest opportunity to apply for the pardon he was desirous to obtain for Saint-Chamand (Francis d'Hautefort), his cousin, who had caused the Lieutenant-general de Tulles (Peter de Fenis, Sieur du Teil)

which in these Memoirs he has so often had occasion of admiring in him.

He loved all his subjects as a father, and the whole State as the head of a family: and it was this disposition that recalled him even from the midst of his pleasures to the care of rendering his people happy and his kingdom flourishing: hence proceeded his readiness in conceiving, and his industry in perfecting, a great number of useful regulations; many I have already specified: and I shall sum up all by saying, that there were no conditions, employments, or professions, to which his reflections did not extend: and that with such clearness and penetration, that the changes he projected could not be overthrown by the death of their author, as it but too often happened in this monarchy. It was his desire, he said, that glory might influence his last years, and make them at once useful to the world and acceptable to God: his was a mind in which the ideas of what is great, uncommon, and beautiful, seemed to rise of themselves: hence it was that he looked upon adversity as a mere transitory evil, and prosperity as his natural state. He had drained fens, in order to a greater work than any he had yet undertaken, which was to make, by canals, a communication from sea to sea, and from river to river: he wanted only time to complete this noble project.

to be whipped without any reason, and for which his majesty had ordered him to be exemplarily punished, came to the king, and besought him to pardon Saint-Chamand, for the love of that God he was going to receive, and who would only forgive such as had forgiven those that had offended them; whom the king answered, fixing his eyes on him, 'Be gone, and let me alone; I am surprised you dare make this request to me, when I am going to declare to God my resolution to do justice, and to ask His pardon for not having done it.'" (Mém. pour l'Hist. de France, vol. ii. p. 262.) He replied to M. le Grand, who importuned him in favour of the son of the Count de la Martinière, who was condemned to suffer death for having killed his sister, "That after he was executed he would grant him his ashes; to another nobleman he said, 'If he had been the father of that wretch he would not have interceded for him.' He made a merry, though a Christian, reply to another. '*Ventre-saint-gris!*' said he to him, scratching his head, 'I have sins enough on my head already, without adding this to them.'" (L'Etoile, part ii. p. 115.) Somebody wanting to persuade him to punish the author of the "Isle des Hermaphrodites," "It would offend my conscience," says he, "to give any man trouble for only speaking the truth."

He often said that there were ten things which he entreated God to grant him, from whence arose that saying, "The ten wishes of Henry IV." He had not the good fortune to obtain them all. They were as follows: 1. Grace and spiritual blessings. 2. To preserve till death the use of all the faculties of his mind and body. 3. To see the religion he had formerly professed in a fixed and peaceful situation. 4. To be delivered from his wife (it is the first he here means), and to find one whose temper suited with his own, that would bring him princes whom he might live to form and educate himself. 5. To restore France to its ancient splendour. 6. To gain from Spain, by conquest, either Navarre, or Flanders and Artois. 7. To gain a battle in person against the King of Spain, and another against the grand seignior, a piece of good fortune for which he greatly envied Don John of Austria. 8. To bring back to its duty, without being obliged to have recourse to violent measures, the Huguenot faction, headed by the Dukes of Bouillon, la Trémouille, &c. And on this subject he added a 9th. To see those two men and the Duke of Epernon reduced to implore his clemency. It was a long time before he would declare the 10th, which regarded the accomplishment of his great designs: and as in those designs he had two principal objects in view, it was necessary to divide this wish into two; and first, with regard to religion, he was desirous of reducing that prodigious number of religions with which all Europe was filled and divided to three principal ones at least, since it was not possible to reunite them all under one faith: the other was wholly political, and related to the number, the territory, and equality of the European powers, of whom he designed to compose that kind of great republic upon the plan I shall lay before the reader presently.

I should destroy all I have now said of this great prince if, after having praised him for an infinite number of qualities well worthy to be praised, I did not acknowledge that they were balanced by faults, and those, indeed, very great. I have not concealed, or even palliated his passion for women; his excess in gaming; his gentleness often carried to weakness; nor his propensity to every kind of pleasure: I have neither disguised the faults they made him commit, the foolish expenses they led him into, nor the time they made

him waste: but I have likewise observed (to do justice on both sides) that his enemies have greatly exaggerated all these errors. If he was, as they say, a slave to women, yet they never regulated his choice of ministers, decided the destinies of his servants, or influenced the deliberations of his council. As much may be said in extenuation of all his other faults. And to sum up all, in a word, what he has done is sufficient to show that the good and bad in his character had no proportion to each other; and that since honour and fame have always had power enough to tear him from pleasure, we ought to acknowledge these to have been his great and real passions.

I have a letter by me which he made Loménie write for him, because he had, as he said, a slight hurt in his thumb; it is dated from Chantilly, April 8, but without date of the year. I believe the reader will not be displeased to hear him speak himself upon this subject. At the beginning of the letter he tells me that his reason for entering upon it with me was the public discourse concerning him; for he used to divert himself with hearing all that was said of him, from Roquelaure, Frontenac, le Rivière, du Laurens, d'Arambure, Morlas, Salette, la Varenne, Bonniers, du John, Beringhen, l'Oserai, Armagnac, Jacquinot, Perroton, and some others, with whom he conversed familiarly, and who often acquitted themselves very faithfully of the order he gave them to conceal from him nothing that was said to his disadvantage.

He began with telling me that his enemies accused him with having neglected and despised (these are his words) the greatest and most deserving men in the kingdom; and consuming, in vain and useless expenses, that money which they alleged would be better employed in gratuities to them.* "Some," pursued he, "blame me for being too fond of build-

* "They say I am niggardly," says he; "but I do three things very inconsistent with a covetous disposition: for I make a war, I make love, and I build." (Le Grain, book viii.) "Some looked on him as a covetous man, but they could be only those who did not know the great necessities he had to struggle with; which were even so great, that during the siege of Dieppe, he could truly say, He was a king without a kingdom, a husband without a wife, and that he made war without money." (Merc. Franç., anno 1610, p. 485.)

ings and great works; others for liking hunting, dogs, and birds; one says that I have a passion for cards, dice, and other kinds of gaming; another condemns me for my attachment to women, to the pleasures of the table, to assemblies, plays, balls, running at the ring, and other amusements of that kind;* where," say they, "I appear as gay and lively with my grey beard, and am as proud of having gained the goal, and received a ring from some fair lady, as I could have been in my youth, or as the vainest young fellow of the court. I do not deny," adds he, "but there is some truth in all this; but if I am guilty of no excesses in these pleasures, my conduct deserves more praise than blame; and, indeed, some little indulgences I ought to have in amusements which bring no inconvenience upon my people, in consideration of the labours I have endured from my infancy to fifty years old. I have heard you say, when any one censured your actions, that we are not commanded by Scripture to have absolutely no sins and errors, because there are some infirmities inseparable from humanity; but only not to suffer them to enslave us and control our wills: and this has been my endeavour, since I could not do better.† You know that on many occasions wherein my mistresses have been concerned (and my passion for women is, of all others, said to have the most empire over me) I have supported you against them, and have gone so far as to tell them that I would rather lose ten such mistresses as they than one such servant as you: and this, I assure you, you shall hear me say again,

* "At feasts he was lively; at tournaments as expert as any one; he was gay over a bottle, though naturally grave; his sprightliness, and the smartness of his repartees, furnished the most pleasing part of the feast: he discovered as much address and courage at tilts, running at the ring, and in all other gentlemanlike exercises, as any one of the young nobility; he even took delight in balls, and sometimes danced, though, to speak the truth, with more spirit than gracefulness." (Perefixe, p. 380.)

† "I every day," said this prince, "pray to God for three things: first, that he would be pleased to pardon my enemies; secondly, to grant me the victory over my passions, and especially sensuality; thirdly, that I may make a right use of the authority he has given me, and never abuse it. I would willingly do as they say," added he, speaking of the remonstrances sometimes made to him by the bishops and other ecclesiastics, "but they do not think I know what they do." (Matthieu, vol. ii. p. 838.)

if necessary; for when an opportunity offers for executing those glorious designs which you know I have long formed, you shall find that I can quit my mistresses, dogs, horses, gaming, buildings, and entertainments, to acquire honour and fame; for I hold it to be my principal duty, next to those I owe to God, my wife, my children, my faithful servants, and my people, whom I love as my children,* to make myself be esteemed as a prince who is religiously faithful to his word," &c.

But it is now time to resume the disagreeable recital of what happened after the death of this good prince; for however painful that recital may appear to me, these Memoirs ought not to conclude till that period when I ceased to have a share in the affairs of the government.

I had but just entered the Rue St. Antoine, and the gentlemen whom I sent with the before-mentioned message to the queen could not have had time to deliver it, when I saw a messenger from her majesty, who entreated me, from her, to come instantly to the Louvre, and to bring as few persons as possible with me, she having things of great consequence to impart to me. This proposal of going alone to the Louvre to deliver myself into the hands of my enemies, with whom I knew it was full, was not very proper to remove my suspicions. Besides, I was that moment informed, that an exempt of the guards and some archers had been seen at the first gates of the Arsenal; that others had been sent to the Temple, where the powder was lodged; and some to the treasurer of the exchequer, to stop all the money there. I drew so unfavourable an augury from all this being done without consulting me, that I did not hesitate a moment about the answer I should send to the queen. I sent a gentleman to tell her, that I was very certain, when she had heard what the person whom I had the honour to depute to her had to say, she would enter into my reasons, and alter her opinion; and that I would expect her answer at the Arsenal and the Bastille, from whence I should not remove.

The queen did not stop there; she sent to me imme-

* "I have only two eyes and two feet," said this good prince; "in what respect, then, do I differ from my subjects, but that I am invested with the power of executing justice?"

diately Messieurs de Montbazon, de Praslin, de Schomberg, la Varenne, and after them my brother. I knew not what to think of this importunity; but when I saw them all arrive within a quarter of an hour of each other, my suspicions were increased, and I resolved not to go to the Louvre that day: the condition I was in was alone a sufficient excuse. The effort I had made after my bathing in the morning, and after a very slight repast; the state of my mind, far more painful than that of my body; both together had thrown me into so violent a perspiration, that my clothes were quite wet; and into so great a weakness, that I could no longer support myself; therefore, as soon as I got to my apartment in the Bastille, whither I first went, I was obliged to change my shirt and go to bed, where I was resolved to continue till the next day. The constable and the Duke of Epernon came to visit me, and offered me their services; and the manner in which they advised me to wait upon the queen making me judge I might do it without running any danger, I at length yielded, upon the condition they still insisted on, that I should be attended only by a small number of persons: and I resolved to go to the Louvre the next day.

Three hundred persons on horseback waited for my coming out, that they might accompany me as the day before; these were all either relations, friends, or persons seemingly attached to me from the appearance of the new favour I was likely to be in, or perhaps from the shame of quitting me too precipitately. I thanked them all, and told them my reasons for not admitting of an escort that might appear in any degree remarkable, and for confining myself to that small number which usually composed my train. And accordingly it was with my own domestics only, to the number of twenty, or thereabouts, that I arrived at the Louvre. On my entrance, I perceived the marks of sincere grief in those who had by any employment been attached to the deceased king: of these, the officers and subalterns seemed to feel, with the most tender sensibility, the public loss. As I passed through the several gates I saw them advance to meet and embrace me with tears in their eyes, or heard them sigh as they saw me pass, and earnestly conjure me not to abandon the children, after having so well served the father.

It is with regret I am obliged to confess that the interior of the palace, and what is called the court, presented me a very different object; there I only saw faces either calm and composed, and, which afflicted me so much the more, as they endeavoured, but in vain, to appear afflicted; or faces so gay, as added indignation to my grief. When I came into the queen's presence, all the little constancy with which I had armed myself so totally left me, that I broke into tears and cries. She no longer found in herself that fortitude with which she had prepared to see me: and we together made up a scene truly affecting. She gave orders that the young king should be brought to me, whose tender caresses gave a new assault to my heart, which I could with the utmost difficulty sustain. I cannot remember what this young prince then said to me, or what I said to him; all I know is, that they were scarce able to tear him from my arms, in which I held him closely embraced. "My son," said the queen his mother to him, "this is M. de Sully; you must love him well, for he was one of the best and most faithful servants of the king your father, and I entreat him to continue to serve you in the same manner." The queen and I had some other discourse together, without being able to cease weeping for a moment: she afterwards said that it was the sight of me, and one other person in the court, with which she had been most affected.

A reception attended with such marks of distinction and confidence reduced all the princes, lords, and members of the council, who were near the queen, to the necessity of outvying each other in protestations of friendship, service, and attachment: yet certainly they did not deceive me, for I knew their hearts as well as themselves: I was convinced already, that in the scheme they had formed of taking advantage of the present conjuncture to increase their riches, and arrogate new dignities to themselves, though at the expense of the good of the State, the honour of the king, and the public welfare, I might be sure of being the mark at which all their blows would be aimed; because they themselves had reason to expect, in the firmness of my mind, and the severity of my regulations, insurmountable obstacles to their designs: of this they had already examples sufficient to convince them, that the only part they had to take was to

endeavour to get me removed entirely from the administration of affairs; therefore, when, in the sequel, they raised all sorts of batteries against me in the queen's opinion (taking it for granted that they had not done it before), when the Jesuits and their adherents made the nuncio solicit the arrêt for my dismission, when my colleagues in the council and the finances set Conchini and his wife to work, to insinuate to the two princes of the blood that they would never have any real authority while I continued to be at the head of affairs; and that if they removed me from the administration, it must necessarily fall into their hands; when they made all the others believe, that to depend upon Conchini was to be truly great; in a word, when I saw them all labouring with equal ardour for my fall, nothing more happened than what I had foreseen and foretold.

The first thing the parliament proceeded to, after the king's death was declared, was to appoint the queen-mother regent. It was thought necessary that the young king should go to the parliament in person, to hold his bed of justice, and confirm this nomination.* The morning after the king's assassination was appointed for this ceremony. It was scarce light when I received a message from the queen, desiring I would attend his majesty thither. I made every excuse I could think of to avoid it; I even feigned myself so much indisposed, that it would be impossible for me to get out of bed the whole of that day. I felt, indeed, an extreme repugnance against doing what they required of me; but it was absolutely necessary to give the queen this satisfaction, who importuned me incessantly. The sound of the drums and musical instruments giving new force to my grief, and judging that a face bathed with tears would but ill suit with the shouts of gratulation and joy with which every place resounded, I pressed through the crowd, and was amongst the first in the hall of the Augustins, where the parliament was held.

* See the form and particulars of this ceremony in the Merc. Franç. and other histories, anno 1610. In the council which met to advise whether the queen ought to go to the parliament, the Duke of Sully only said, "That as there was no law to forbid the queen's going to the parliament, it was a matter of indifference whether she went or not." (Matthieu, ibid. p. 4.)

Two or three cardinals, who, like me, had been desirous of avoiding the press, were, with some other persons, already in the hall, and had taken their seats at the upper end of the bench destined for the ecclesiastics, which was on the left side of the throne prepared for his majesty: the Bishops of Langres, Beauvais, and Noyon, coming in afterwards, these gentlemen who had taken it into their heads that their rank of peers gave them a right to precede the princes and cardinals in parliament, would not sit below the latter, who they found had already placed themselves, but went to the bench on the right hand, and took their seats at the upper end of it: I found them there when I entered, and told them with great civility that it was not their place, and advised them, as their friend, to go to the left side, since they could not expect that the temporal peers, who would enter immediately, would suffer them quietly to keep possession of the right side. They were going to stun me with their usual distinction of peers of an older creation and spiritual peers, which in their opinions raised them greatly above the new dukes. The debate was not carried to any length by me; I only told them that they would soon be convinced who was in the right: which accordingly happened. The affair was instantly decided, and they were obliged to go over to the left side; where, finding the cardinals not disposed to give them the upper hand, they chose to retire, rather than submit to this regulation, and did not assist at the ceremony. As for me, though I was present, I interposed no further in the dispute. The queen had reason to be satisfied with what passed;* everything was granted her without even collecting the votes.

It was not long before I discovered, that although they affected to neglect none of the formalities which are generally observed in settling a lawful regency, although they would have the alterations, which they already suffered to be perceived in the administration, pass for the common and necessary effect of a change of government; in a word, although they strove to create a belief that their sole view, by this mode of government, was to give more strength and grandeur to the authority of an infant king; yet those by whose ad-

* See the historians quoted before for the manner of this ceremony.

vice the queen acted, thought of nothing, in reality, but how, under this mask, to aggrandise themselves. All that show of regularity vanished upon a nearer view; while, in its place we beheld real violations of order, which terrified the few, the very few good subjects still remaining. I thought myself obliged, and in some degree entitled, to make them sensible that I saw these abuses, and that I disapproved of them: but the time of free remonstrances, which the grief for the king's death the first day, and the distraction of affairs the second, suffered still to subsist, was passed on the third: nor was it much longer before they entirely shook off the yoke of constraint, and appeared no more with a composure of behaviour, and an affectation of sorrow, which had done too much violence to their real sentiments: stupidity, or the want of a true subject for joy, produced this effect in some; in others, their natural levity of temper; and in others, the mere movement of public and private affairs; but, above all, the fear of displeasing those persons whose examples gave laws to the court.

Let us take a view then of this new world after the three first days. To judge from exterior appearances, and all that was done to strike the attention, the Louvre might have been supposed to be still a place of mourning; all the refinements of melancholy pomp were to be found there; the hangings with which the ceilings, the walls, and floors were covered; the furniture, and all the insignia of public mourning, made the apartments of state in this palace look like the dismal abode of death and sorrow. But on going a little further, and considering the countenances and behaviour of those who were appointed to do the honours of this sad ceremony, the thing appeared a little doubtful; for if there were some among them who shed real tears, and whose sighs indeed proceeded from the heart, there were others who gave sufficient indications of very different emotions. And on descending from thence, and visiting the lower apartments, which were called the ground-floors, there a true notion might be formed of the disposition all hearts were in; there that magnificence which was banished from every other part of the palace found an asylum: gold, purple, embroidery, and the most sumptuous ornaments, made this a scene of pleasure and delight; luxury was there in its utmost profusion. Myself and a

small number of true Frenchmen never entered those apartments without feeling our hearts torn with grief and rage; to behold, in a place where every object ought to have reminded us of the public loss, all the appearance of joy, triumph, and exultation. I blush to say, that notwithstanding the artifice which was used to conceal this spectacle of insensibility and ingratitude from the eyes of the public, yet it was too often disclosed by the bursts of laughter, the exclamations of joy, and the songs of gladness, which were heard to proceed from those places: nor, indeed, were they filled with any but happy persons, or those who believed themselves so. Here it was that the true court resided, and where the councils were held, as well those general ones which were called for show and compliance with custom, as the private ones, wherein they knew how to render ineffectual all the prudent resolutions that had been taken in the former.

The queen admitted none into these secret councils, which were held at the most unseasonable hours, but Conchini and his wife, the pope's nuncio, the Spanish ambassador, the chancellor, and the Chevalier de Sillery, the Duke of Epernon, Villeroy, Jeannin, and Arnaud (who as well as Jeannin, from having been entirely devoted to me, became no less attached to Conchini), Duret, the physican (who, however, soon fell from this high degree of favour), Dollé, and Father Cotton. It is not difficult to guess the subjects of their consultations; the union of the crowns of France and Spain, the renouncing of all the most ancient alliances of the former with foreign princes, the repealing of all edicts of pacification, the destruction of the Protestants, the expulsion of all of them who were in place, the disgrace of those who would not bend to the yoke of the new favourites, the dissipation of the treasures amassed by the deceased king, and applied by them to bribe the covetous and ambitious to their interests, and to load with riches and authority those who were going to be raised to the first dignities of the state; in a word, a thousand projects as pernicious to the king and the kingdom, as advantageous to our greatest enemies, made up the grand object of all their views.

To the public council, which was held punctually every day, were summoned the Prince of Conti and the Count of Sois-

sons (the Prince of Condé was not yet returned to France), the Cardinal de Joyeuse, the constable, the Dukes of Mayenne and Guise, and the Duke of Bouillon, as soon as he should arrive, Marshal Brissac, Châteauneuf, Pontcarré, de Vic,* Caumartin, and myself. Some of these gentlemen loudly exclaimed against altering our system of politics; but the subject most frequently discussed by this council was upon the means of increasing the royal revenues, of diminishing the *taille* and other imposts, and of augmenting the pensions of the grandees, and procuring them several other advantages. The President Jeannin, ever loud and obstinate, made himself be heard above all the others. It was said this man had been known to promise mountains of gold to every one. Some persons, who still retained the candour and frankness of the old council, and who could neither disguise their own sentiments nor flatter those of others, joined their endeavours to mine, to show the gross contradiction there was in pretending to increase the expenses while they were diminishing the revenues.

I was desirous of avoiding the reproach of my own conscience for suffering by my silence such maxims to gain ground. I at first combated them by arguments, and flattered myself that, if the advantage was to remain on the side of reason, we should have carried our point; but we soon found that ignorance was but the least of those vices we had to encounter. It was by the most magnificent promises (of which, however, those that related to the people's relief were never performed) that the new government sought to make friends, and to obliterate and even to bring into contempt that wise frugality to which the glory of the last reign was owing. Jeannin, indeed, had a particular end to answer by these measures; his scheme being to get the entire disposal of the finances, what better methods could be made use of to raise himself to this post than to insinuate that in the new superintendent they should all find that facility and readiness to

* Dominic de Vic, vice-admiral, &c., who has been mentioned before: he died this year at Paris, soon after his return from Calais, of which he was governor. It was asserted that his death was occasioned by the grief he was seized with on seeing again the place to which he had seen the corpse of Henry IV. brought after he was assassinated. (Merc. Franç., anno 1610, p. 529.)

oblige which the grandees complained they had not met with in the old one? It may be said, that he had not the abilities requisite for this employment, which he at length obtained; but he knew how to enrich by it himself, his relations, and allies, especially Castille,* with whom money must certainly have been of very little value, since all those pieces of furniture which in other houses are made of iron or wood, in his were of silver: in this point of magnificence he was inferior to none but Conchini.

I was fully convinced that I was offering remedies to voluntary ills, when I saw that my freedom of speech, which had at first been suffered, as being an habitual fault, began to appear so troublesome, that I easily read upon every countenance the pain it gave them to restrain themselves; and that they would soon get rid of those small remains of respect. From that time I looked upon myself as a man who would very soon become something worse than useless, and seriously took a resolution to disengage myself by degrees from a place where I could not support my former reputation without infinite danger, or swim with the stream without total dishonour; for, indeed, what influence could the voice of one man, who had nothing but harsh things to say, have over a queen who was used to the alluring language and servile complaisance of flatterers and new favourites? It is so rare a thing for a minister to support himself with his sovereign by such sentiments alone as arise from a veneration mixed with awe (which, however, will always be the case if that minister be an honest man), that one ought not to expect such a miracle will happen in two reigns successively; therefore, when my relations, my friends, and my domestics, whose affection for me made them see things in a very different light, united their endeavours to prevail upon me to continue my cares, which they assured me might still be useful; or even when they represented to me that it was possible some good might be extracted from the new plan, my usual answer was, that the blow which God had permitted was so plain a declaration that he had delivered up France to her evil destiny, that to endeavour to hinder its

* Peter de Castille was comptroller-general and superintendent of the finances.

effect was to tempt his vengeance. One of my people, that very Arnaud whom I mentioned a little above, had the insolence to say to me one day, when he saw me extremely dejected with this thought, that I was much to blame to afflict myself thus about what might happen; that for the future there might be very considerable sums laid up in the exchequer, which the great expenses of the deceased king in buildings, gaming, dogs, birds, and mistresses, rendered it impossible to do while he was living. This speech appeared so criminal in his mouth, that, in the first emotions of my rage, I called him base, wicked, and ungrateful; threatened to strike him, and forbade him ever to appear in my presence again. It was but too true what I reproached him with in that moment, that his base compliances and wicked counsels were going to open the first way to dissipation and disorder.

The Count of Soissons was not at Paris during these transactions. Some disgust which he had taken at the queen's coronation, on account of the robes which the king's natural* children were to appear in there, furnished him with a pretence for retiring to one of his houses, so that he was not a witness of anything that passed, either as to the king's death, or on the following days, and did not come to Paris till after the queen was declared regent, and all the other dispositions made. This was a new subject for his complaints. He was greatly offended that they had proceeded to a business of such importance as settling the regency without giving him notice of it, and even without staying till he could be present; for he affirmed that this ceremony could not be performed without him: and taking it into his head that, to make himself feared, it was only necessary that he should bluster and talk high, he found fault with many things in the form of this ceremony, boasting that no person would have courage enough to say in his presence that only a small number of the presidents and councillors concurred in the nomination of the queen in the first meeting of the parliament; and added, that on the following day, when the king, the princes, the cardinals, the peers, and other officers

* It was on account of the Duchess of Vendôme's robes. The king had a great desire that she, like the other princesses of the blood royal, should wear them sprinkled with fleurs-de-lis, which the Count of Soissons would never consent to.

of the crown were present, being afraid that, if the question was put to the vote they should meet with opposition, they contented themselves with a mere confirmation of the act of the foregoing day. He saw plainly that he would not be listened to, unless he could make his party very considerable, and for this purpose he constrained himself so far as to seek the friendship of several courtiers, with whom he had not the least connexion. But there were two things which obstructed his success: his haughty and insolent temper, and the preference the courtiers thought their interest required they should give to others, who they found were likely to have the disposal of all favours; and being as much disliked by the princes, and his own brother, the Prince of Conti, as by all the rest, he found himself at length obliged to yield.

I was one of those whom, for some time, the Count of Soissons was desirous of calling friend, but it was not long before he gave me every proof of his being a real enemy; and upon the following occasion. The count had often pressed the late king upon an affair of which I have already made some mention: it was to make an agreement with him for some claims which he alleged he had in Piedmont, in right of his wife, who was of the house of Montaffié: his importunity obliged Henry to remit the examination of this matter to me; and the profession I have always made of sincerity and attachment to the interests of my king, forced me to represent to him that this step would be attended with great inconvenience to him; that he was going to engage himself in processes without number, and without end, against the pope, the apostolical chamber, the Duke of Savoy, and several cardinals, all of whom had pretensions upon these estates, and many already in possession of them; and that he would not be able to extricate himself in less than ten years out of that maze of different interests; and it being necessary, for the advancement of his great designs, that he should keep on good terms with the pope and the Duke of Savoy, he must carefully avoid entering into any discussion which might make them his enemies. There needed no more to make Henry lay aside all thought of it.

Upon the death of this prince, the Count of Soissons resumed this affair with the new council. In everything which might be considered as a matter of mere favour, he did not

scruple to form any intrigue which might procure him what he demanded. I am almost ashamed to repeat the methods he made use of to attain his ends. The count, with the assistance of Conchini, counterfeited the signature, and made use of the seal of the deceased king; and thus gave an authentic form to a pretended contract of sale between King Henry and him for all the estates in question. To make this writing less liable to a suspicion of an antedate, they thought it necessary that my name should appear there, which obliged them to request my signature; and this was the greatest difficulty they had to get over. They represented to me that the moment was now come which would absolutely fix the count either as my friend or my enemy. They brought a thousand other motives to prevail upon me: but I still persisted not only to refuse my signature, but also to assert publicly, that this affair having been begun and ended by Henry and myself, no one could know better than I did that his intentions were absolutely contrary to what they were now endeavouring to persuade me of; and I told them plainly that they presented me a deed falsely signed and sealed; so that, despairing to vanquish my obstinacy, they drew up another contract like the former in every respect, except that my name was omitted.

The Count of Soissons and I were upon these terms when he quarrelled publicly with his brother, the Prince of Conti, and, on his account, with the whole family of Guise.* The queen sent for me to acquaint me with the expedients she had

* This quarrel arose from the coaches of those two princes having been driven against one another, and their coachmen having fought. The Duke of Guise going the day after to the Prince of Conti, by the queen's order, to endeavour to make up this difference, went by the Count of Soissons' palace with about twenty-five or thirty horse. Nothing more was requisite to set the count at variance with him also; and this double quarrel raised so great an uproar in Paris, that the queen, being afraid of a general insurrection, gave orders that all the inhabitants should hold themselves in readiness to put up the chains, and take arms all over the city, at the first order; and she sent two captains of the guards to keep near each of the two princes. We must look in Bassompierre's Memoirs (vol. i. p. 308 et seq.) for all the particulars of these differences, since he himself contributed greatly to appease them. (See also l'Histoire de la Mère et du Fils, vol. i. p. 123, and Le Merc. Franç., anno 1611, in which is contained what the Duke of Sully said to the queen in favour of the Duke of Guise.)

thought of to accommodate all their differences, which were to be tried when the council was met; and, till then, she entreated me not to espouse the cause of either party, that I might with greater propriety act the part of a mediator between both when the time for it came; to which I readily agreed. Accordingly, when we were seated in council, where the affair was to be treated, and I had already given my opinion favourably for the count, this prince sent Brissac to tell the queen, in a whisper, that he entreated her not to permit any of those persons who were held in suspicion by him to deliberate upon this matter, and that he excepted against me* in particular, as being a kinsman and friend to the house of Guise. "He ought not to except against M. de Sully," replied the queen, aloud, "for there is no persons in the council whose judgment has been so favourable to him as his." I confess I was greatly shocked at this treatment, and I could not help saying, as I rose up, "Madame, I except against myself, since he desires it; and I am going this moment to offer my service to his brother and to M. de Guise."

The third quarrel I had with the Count of Soissons happened, as the former, in the council, on occasion of the government of Normandy, which he wanted to have conferred upon himself. The queen desired to have my opinion, which I begged she would dispense with me from giving; but, not being able to prevail, I told her that it was impossible for me to advise her to take from the deceased king's children the offices and employments they were already possessed of, to bestow upon any other person whatever. And at that time the Count of Soissons and Conchini were not upon good terms with each other, and this prince had even opposed the favourite's getting the post of first gentleman of the bedchamber for himself, and the archbishopric of Tours for his wife's brother;† but they were reconciled upon this occasion,

* The author of the Life of the Duke of Epernon informs us that the Count of Soissons carried his hatred to the Duke of Sully so far as to solicit the duke to suffer him to get that minister assassinated even in the Louvre; and that he took it much amiss the Duke of Epernon refused him the assistance of the guards, whom he commanded, to strike this blow. (Page 249.)

† Stephen Galigaï, brother of Leonora Galigaï. He was then Abbot of Marmoutiers. "He had learned to read four years," says L'Etoile,

because they mutually assisted each other; and by these means both obtained what they demanded. The same method was used by all who had any pretensions to vacant posts and employments, and in a very little time everything was carried in the council by intrigue and cabal. "The time of kings is over," said one to another, "and that of the princes and grandees is come; and all they have now to do, is to set a high value upon themselves."

All the most considerable persons of the court were summoned to an extraordinary council, which was held to deliberate upon the use that should be made of those great armaments set on foot by the late king a little before his death for the enterprise of Cleves. The diversity of opinions was infinite: some were for laying them totally aside; others —and those not the least numerous—were for performing all the promises made by Henry the Great to the German princes concerned in the affair; the greatest number were for mediums between these two opinions, so opposite to each other; some advised that we should keep only to the eight thousand foot and two thousand horse, expressed in the general contracts made by King Henry with his allies; others, that we should content ourselves with maintaining the two regiments of French cavalry already in their service; a third party voted for embarking some foot soldiers at Calais; these, that we should send them no supplies of men, but assist them with money; those, that we should keep our whole army upon the frontier without acting, except in case of absolute necessity; and others, that we should disband the greatest part of our troops, and keep no more than were necessary for our own security. All this was intermixed with overtures of agreement and pacification to be made between the contending powers, such as just then occurred to them.

"and yet knew nothing of the matter; he was called the baboon of the court, on account of his ugliness and mean aspect. The monks would not accept of him as their abbot, saying they had been used to be under the command of princes, and not of joiners like him, who was just come from handling the plane." "But it is certain," says Amelot, "that the family of Galigaï is reckoned amongst the noble families of Florence." He went back to Italy after the death of the Marshal d'Ancre and his wife.

It appeared to me that they all expected, with some impatience, my opinion, because I had been more engaged in the affair by the late king than any other to whom he had communicated it. I began by making what I judged a very just distinction between those troops already drawn together into the body of an army, and those which were still levying; between those destined for the field, and those which had been sent into Dauphiny. With regard to the first, therefore, I concluded, that since, according to all appearances, and from the present situation of affairs, most part of the designs of Henry the Great would not be carried into execution, it was necessary to suspend immediately all levies not begun, stop those which were making, and pay and dismiss all that were made, and already upon their march; because, since all this must be done sooner or later, it would save the king so much money in the expenses of sending backwards and forwards, and the people so much trouble and oppression. The death of him whom I had regarded as the great mover of this whole enterprise, seemed, in my opinion, to have made so great a change in it, that I believe I should have given the same advice, even though I had found no ill-intentioned person amongst us; but neither could I conform to the opinions of those who were for betraying our allies, with whom we were engaged by the most solemn promises; or deceiving them, by affecting to take steps to procure an accommodation between them, or by granting them a feeble succour, which would be of scarce any use to them.

This was the answer I made to the greatest part of those ambiguous opinions, which were for and against a thing at the same time. I made them sensible that it highly concerned the glory of the late king, since his greatest designs could not be accomplished, which might in some measure give room for suspicions that he had never really formed them, they should at least have all their effect with regard to what he had declared, promised, and already begun: that it was for the interest of our own reputation with the foreign powers that we should not suffer them to believe the whole force of France was concentred in one man only, and that we had so little respect for his memory. I concluded, therefore, that it was absolutely necessary to send deputies immediately to the German princes, and to the Prince of Orange, to know of

them whether they really stood in need of the assistance of our forces to help them to reduce those states which we were desirous of securing to them; for I thought they might do without them, if that was not their sole motive for taking up arms; and, if they had occasion for them, to know how many they demanded, and that upon their answer those supplies should advance immediately under the conduct of good officers, taking their route along the Maës, which was not, indeed, the most agreeable, nor the shortest way, but was the most secure, which was a matter of great importance; or else, that the whole army should be disbanded, except thirty thousand foot and six hundred troopers, who, strengthened by four cannon only and two culverins, should form a flying camp, ready to go wherever there was any appearances of an action: and this I thought sufficient to keep every place in order: that, till then, it was necessary to put the troops of Champagne into garrison, after giving them their full pay.

I gave much the same advice with respect to the army of Dauphiny, as it had been already raised to support the Duke of Savoy, who, in compliance with our request, had, or probably would, embroil himself with all his neighbours: therefore it might be justly expected that we should either endeavour to reconcile him with the King of Spain, or put him into a condition to defend himself; and, as we could not take any resolution upon this head till we had sent another deputy to this prince, or perhaps till a long time afterwards, I advised that this army should be likewise put into convenient winter quarters (after making so exact a review of them that no false muster might be apprehended) till there was occasion for them, or till they were disbanded altogether.

I found that I was heard with attention: my reasons seemed to have made a general impression; but with this difference, that sensible and well-disposed persons did not scruple to discover this effect, by showing signs of approbation, and even by applauses; whereas all the others not only carefully concealed it, either through vanity, neglect, or rather through jealousy, but also combated my reasons with eagerness and heat. I took care to inform Bethune, my cousin, of all this, who, in a letter he wrote to me, desired my advice upon the alteration which the public loss must necessarily make in his embassy to the German princes. I

shall not transcribe his letter, nor my answer to it, because they contained nothing essentially different from what has been just said, except, perhaps, that I examined more particularly the good or bad effects of the advice I had given in the council: this, for example, is a thing that merits to be well observed, that which way soever it shall happen that a body of troops may find entrance into Germany to join the confederate princes, that entrance would be accompanied with great hazard, though the body consisted of ten thousand men, unless the allies on their side facilitated their advance by meeting them within ten or twelve leagues of our frontiers. The scheme of embarking them at Calais, if that was chosen, would be likewise inconvenient; it would supply our confederates with infantry only, and that to no greater number than eight thousand; and it was even necessary that we should have a right understanding with each other. I forewarned Bethune with respect to one thing, which required the attention of him and his correspondents, which was, that France, by changing her master, had changed everything else; and I showed my astonishment that the princes who employed him should express their schemes, desires, and resolutions in so unintelligible a manner. I left it to his discretion to judge what use he ought to make of a letter in which it was necessary I should avoid explaining myself clearly upon several things: as for advice, I said I had no other to give him but to continue, till he received new orders, to act as he had done hitherto, and I promised him faithfully to take care of his interests. This letter was dated May 24.

Some days afterwards I was summoned to a more particular council upon this affair. M. de Jacop, ambassador from the Duke of Savoy, suspecting that the resolutions taken by the members of the new council were not very favourable to his master, had pressed the queen regent to declare her intentions to him as soon as possible, that his highness might take such measures thereupon as his interest required. We were to consult, therefore, upon the declarations proper to be made to this ambassador. In the morning, when I came to the Louvre, I found only the constable, the chancellor, and Villeroy with the queen; Gèvres and Loménie had been there, but Villeroy had persuaded the queen

to send them away, for which Gèvres made bitter complaints. I suspected, by the studied gestures and the winding discourse which one of these gentlemen began to make, that there was something they wished to conceal from me. "Madam," said I to the queen, with my usual frankness, "I know not for what end you have been pleased to summon me hither; my presence either hinders these gentlemen from explaining themselves, or else they are come only to entrap one another. The business I perceive relates to the Duke of Savoy; it is well known that I am not in great friendship with him: however, since his interests are at present connected with those of France, and that he is (at least in expectation) an ally of the royal family, I have the same regard for him as I ought to have for all true Frenchmen. I am of opinion that the king is indispensably obliged to protect and defend him; and that his majesty's honour and the glory of the kingdom are both concerned not to suffer that the least injury should be offered to his person and dominions."

I perceived the queen to smile at this speech, and whisper Villeroy; then, turning to me, she said, "M. de Sully, it is true we are met to consult upon the Duke of Savoy's affairs, but there are others of still greater consequence, which it is necessary we should attend to. You see what quarrels have arisen among many of the grandees of the kingdom, whose ambition and avarice, you say, are insatiable. I entreat you to think of some remedy for this evil, that it may be proposed in the first council. With respect to M. de Savoy, these gentlemen and I, before you came, had talked of that business, and we are all of this opinion, that a reconciliation between France and Spain is most for our interest; and for this purpose we are determined to send one of the princes of the blood to Madrid, on occasion of the death of my lord the king, who shall be accompanied by a person well instructed in our affairs, and upon whose secrecy we may securely rely. He shall set on foot this reconciliation, and propose an alliance between the two crowns by a double marriage, which I know the Spaniards still wish for as ardently as they did formerly; and while this affair is negotiating, in which I foresee no great difficulty, or that it will be long protracted,

we must flatter the Duke of Savoy in his first hopes and expectations till we can declare ourselves without danger."

This resolution gave me great uneasiness, which I discovered by my silence and shrugging up of my shoulders. The queen took notice of it, and pressed me to tell her my opinion. I represented to her that we could not, without exposing ourselves to the reproach of having violated our faith, abandon a prince who had broken all his engagements with Spain, and openly declared himself against that crown,* at the persuasion of the deceased king; that, since we had altered our views, we ought to give him notice of it, and at the same time conceal this step from the King of Spain, or rather make him believe we had acted very differently, till, by a general reconciliation, we had put those out of danger who would not have been in it but through us. These arguments, however just and reasonable, made no impression on the queen and her councillors, nor did they even approve the medium my last words had hinted at, but coldly told me that this way would engage them in a train of tedious negotiations. I replied, with that confidence which a good cause inspires, that I found the sacrificing the Duke of Savoy was a point determined on, and appeared to me to have been so before this consultation. I drew presages no less certain to the disadvantage of our allies from all the looks and signs of intelligence which I surprised between the queen, the chancellor, and Villeroy: but the new councillors and the confi-

* By the treaty of Brusol, which had been concluded on the 25th of April. (See it in Nevers's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 880.) The Duke of Savoy, being abandoned by the new council in France, could only escape the resentment of the court of Spain by the most humiliating step a crowned head can possibly be reduced to. His son came to throw himself at the King of Spain's feet, beseeching him to take the duke his father, and all his house, under his royal protection. He told the king that he embraced his knees, that he had recourse to his clemency, and that, with the most humble submission, he asked his pardon for the faults he had been guilty of against him, &c. Siri most certainly mistakes his aim, if he pretends to make us admire the politics of the new council, by giving us such instances as this of their proceedings. One must be as much prejudiced as this writer against Henry IV. and the Duke of Sully, and as violent a partisan of the Spaniards, to approve of a manner of acting so opposite to that justice and generosity France has always professed to show.

dants of that princess soon threw off all restraint, and declared their sentiments freely; the deceased king's government, so wise, so gentle, and so glorious for France, was condemned almost publicly, and even despised and ridiculed; at one time they treated his designs as mere chimeras, at another they represented him as a weak, pusillanimous prince, incapable of taking any noble resolution. It was not enough to leave the death of this great prince unpunished; they added to that neglect all sorts of outrages against his memory, and, unhappily for us, Heaven, which reserved to itself this vengeance, suffered envy and ingratitude to triumph in their success.

I returned home full of grief at what I saw and heard. "We are going," said I to Madame de Sully, whose prudence I well knew, "to fall under the domination of Spain and the Jesuits: all true Frenchmen, and the Protestants especially, must look well to their safety, for they will not continue long in tranquillity." This reflection kept me in a profound reverie all dinner-time. The Bishop of Montpellier came to visit me in the afternoon: he entreated me to give him an opportunity of conferring with me in my closet, from whence, in about half an hour, I let him out by a private door, for he did not desire to be known, and therefore hid his face with his handkerchief, that none of my people might see it. "I have heard some news just now," said I to my wife and three or four persons in whom I confided; "a secret council has been held at the house of the nuncio Ubaldini, at which were present the chancellor, Conchini, Villeroy, the Bishop of Béziers, and another person whose name was not known, but he was thought to be the Duke of Epernon: they condemned, they even spoke with scorn and contempt of the deceased king's designs; nor was I treated any better by them. It was there resolved to change entirely all the maxims of our government, and all our political alliances; to write to the pope, and promise to be guided wholly by his advice; to enter into a strict union with Spain, and, as soon as it should be solidly established, all those who showed any dislike to it, especially the Huguenots, should be removed from the administration of affairs, and banished the court. If I am wise," continued I, "I shall quietly resign all my posts and employments, withdraw all my money, or as much

of it as I can; with part of it purchase some strong castle in one of the most distant provinces, and keep the remainder for any exigencies that may happen."

We were still conversing upon this subject when the Duke of Rohan, the two Bethunes, by brother and my cousin, my son, and two or three more of my most intimate friends, came in, to whom I imparted what I had heard and the resolution I had taken upon it. They maintained that the information could not be true; that I was going to take a step which would draw upon me the reproach of ingratitude to the State and to the children of the king, my benefactor; that I might very easily continue in the possession of all my employments and the exercise of all my offices; and that it would appear weak and mean to yield thus to my enemies at the first encounter. I could not be convinced by their arguments, nor could I bring them to admit of mine. "It is your desire, then," said I at last, "that I should sacrifice myself for the public, my family, and my friends; for I see plainly that your interest has great part in what you say to me. I will do so, since you force me to it; but remember what I now tell you: this concession will procure you no advantage, and will bring great trouble, loss, and even disgrace upon me; and I am going," added I, "to give you a specimen of it this moment."

Having observed that the courtiers of the highest rank, and those among them most remarkable for their pride and insolence, had not disdained to make advances, and meanly court the friendship of him who appeared to engross the queen's favour, I concluded with myself that it would be very difficult to preserve the same connexion, and the same good intelligence (in appearance at least) with the court as I had formerly done, unless I expressed some kind of regard for the new favourite. I had resolved, in case this thought should hold, to make use of Arnaud the younger for this purpose, who of himself was but too much disposed to worship the rising sun. I had sent for him in the morning, and acquainted him with the commission I intended to give him ere long to wait upon Monsieur Conchini,* and to make him

* Concino Concini, an Italian of mean birth, according to some, but a Florentine gentleman according to others, better known under the

offers of service in my name. I had already told him in what manner to turn his compliment, which I shall here give the reader: he was to tell Conchini that I bore him no ill-will for the height fortune was going to raise him to, by giving him the same place under the queen as I had held under the late king; that I looked upon this event as one of those which happen too often in the order of Providence to occasion much surprise; that the queen regent, by thus advancing him, justly repaid the attachment which his wife and himself had always shown for her, and the good services she had received from them; that, by choosing him to preside over the administration of affairs, her majesty doubtless expected to give to the king her son, and to the whole State, an able and a faithful minister, two great qualities which are alone sufficient to render a man, whoever he was, truly worthy of all the benefits her favour could secure to him; that, being equally persuaded of the queen's laudable designs, and of his disposition to second them, I freely and cordially offered to him all those measures which a long experience had furnished me with; an offer which he would find worthy

title of Marshal d'Ancre, which he bore afterwards. He was the chief favourite of the queen regent, and loaded by her with riches and dignities. It is said that, at his departure from Florence, one of his friends asking him what he was going to do in France, his answer was, "Either to make his fortune or perish;" and that he did both the one and the other. He was killed in the Louvre by Vitry on the 24th of August, 1617, by order of Louis XIII., and at the solicitation of the nobility. The hatred which was conceived against him has caused him to be painted in the blackest colours. Very few have done justice to the good qualities he possessed; but perhaps Divine justice designed to revenge the horrible assassination of Henry the Great on the person of this Italian, one of those whom it is the most difficult to acquit of it, supposing this murder was committed by foreign instigation. His wife, the same Leonora Galigaï so often mentioned in these Memoirs, was also put to death. They could find no other crimes to charge her with but her having bewitched the queen her mistress. "I have never," answered she to her judges, "made use of any witchcraft but my wit; is it at all to be wondered at that I governed the queen, who had none?" "Cardinal Richelieu," adds Amelot, "owed the first steps towards his fortune to this woman." They both were possessed of the magic of eloquence. We must search in the histories of Marie de Médicis and of Louis XIII. for whatever relates to this matter. There are also some anecdotes relating to it, which are curious enough, in Bassompierre's Memoirs.

of acceptance, if he reflected that, besides the public good, which would necessarily result from it, he would reap some advantage to himself, in not purchasing the favours which in the sequel would be showered on him, with the jealousy of the nobles, the public hatred, the prejudice of affairs, and the oppression of the people; that the only return I asked of him for thus entering into his views of grandeur and interest, was to endeavour to gratify them by following those maxims of government by which the late king had rendered his people happy, and his kingdom flourishing. Of these maxims, one which the present state of affairs seemed to render most necessary, was not to accustom the men of business, and those importunate petitioners that haunt the court, to depend upon obtaining all they should demand; that, upon these conditions, he should find me sincerely disposed to unite myself with him; and that from this moment I offered him my friendship, and requested his.

If the nature of my compliment be well considered, it will be granted that there were exceptions in these advances which took away all fear of having engaged myself too far: but, however, I believe it will be allowed that they ought to satisfy, and, if I may say so, flatter the vanity of him to whom they were made. Be that as it will, this message appeared to me very proper to produce that effect of which I was endeavouring to persuade those who so obstinately combated my resolution. After having called Arnaud, and given him his instructions in the presence of these gentlemen, "Go," said I to him, "to Monsieur Conchini, and deliver the message to him which I gave you in the morning, and return as soon as possible. I am much deceived," added I, "if all these gentlemen," addressing myself to them, "who have so good an opinion of the queen and her privy councillors, will not find, by Conchini's answer, that there is nothing for me to expect."

The company all stayed with me, waiting for an answer to my message, which Arnaud brought us at the expiration of an hour, and in a manner which confirmed me in those suspicions I had before conceived against him. He began with praising Conchini for his great abilities, and his knowledge in matters of state, dwelt upon his interest and powerful friends, and, slightly passing over what it most concerned me

to know, he only told me, that he believed I had nothing to hope for from him, unless I were disposed to comply with him in all things. "I fancy I understand you," said I, with a little rage I was not able to suppress;* "but tell me plainly what you would be at, and let me know what you and he said to one another." Then, as if forced to it, he gave us the following detail, shaking his head, and smiling malignantly as he spoke: That, as he entered Conchini's house, he met the President Jeannin and his brother Arnaud, who were just coming out; that they seemed concerned at seeing him there, but that they did not speak to him, nor he to them, which, however, I believe was not true; that a gentleman, whose name was Vincenzo, introducing him into Conchini's apartment, said to him, "You belong, I think, to M. de Sully; would to God that we were to follow his counsels, rather than those of the two persons who went from hence just now, and of several others still worse than they are! we should not hurry things on at such a rate as they urge us to do: but the queen's authority and our fortune would be established in a more laudable manner, and be far more certain and durable." That, entering Conchini's apartment, he said to him, "What! Monsieur Arnaud, are you come to visit me?" That hereupon he made him the compliment, and delivered the message I had sent by him, which he now repeated to us.

Arnaud then stopped again, and, after some hesitation, said, that the answer he had received was so very short and dry, that he believed it was the best way not to repeat it. What still remained for him to tell was precisely that which I most wanted to know. After suffering himself to be urged a long time, he at length told us that Conchini, without expressing any acknowledgment for the civil offers he had made him in my name, and even without seeming to give the least attention to what he had said, replied in very bad French, and in a proud and disdainful accent, "How! M. Arnaud, the Duke of Sully then expects to govern the affairs of France as he did in the late king's time: he is much mistaken; the queen being queen, it is for her to dispose of all

* M. de Sully had a custom of scratching his head if any one vexed or embarrassed him.

things as she pleases, and I would advise him to be wholly guided by her will: as for my wife and I, we have no occasion for the assistance or favour of any one; her majesty esteems us, because we have served her faithfully: it is not in the power of any person whatever to deprive us of her favour, or to hinder the effects of it. If M. de Sully has any requests to make, he will have more occasion for our assistance than we of his, which he has sent you to offer us; and possibly, if he knew how much we are courted, he would be more respectful than he has hitherto been: there is not any prince or nobleman of the court who has neglected to visit us, except him and another."

The company, who had not expected so rude and insolent an answer, stared at each other, and shrugged up their shoulders, but did not utter a word. "Well, gentlemen," said I to them, "do you still think it possible for me to keep my employments with honour, and that they will suffer me to continue at the head of affairs as formerly?" They acknowledged that they had formed a wrong judgment of the true state of things. This led us into many other conversations, which were very long, but of too little consequence to be related here. In the end, however, it was determined that we should allow something to chance, precipitate nothing, and wait to see what the arrival of the Prince of Condé would produce; upon whom many others, as well as myself, had founded great hopes.

It was from Pallot that I received the first information of this prince's having entered the kingdom; and he told me, at the same time, that, being not well furnished with ready money, I might make my court to him very successfully, by paying him, without waiting till he demanded it, one half year of his pension. Fortunately it was in my power to do him this favour without incurring the reproach of having disposed of the king's money at my own pleasure, and without staying for an order; for this sum had been carried to account, though it was not yet delivered to the prince; because the late king, being unwilling to let him know that he had still indulgence enough for him to continue his pension, waited till some opportunity should offer when I might send it him as if from myself. I had already paid half the sum to two persons whom the prince had commissioned to demand

it, and, remembering that they had told me about eight days ago that the money was still in their hands, I ordered the whole sum to be delivered to Pallot, who, when he paid it to the prince, took care to give him a just notion of this instance of my attachment to him. In reality, at that time, it was one of the greatest services I could have done him, and he was so much obliged by it, that he declared publicly, as I was informed by a son of M. d'Harcourt,* that he would not enter Paris till he had seen me and asked my advice, which he was resolved to follow. As I then saw myself surrounded with none but enemies, I was truly rejoiced at having thus extinguished that resentment which the first prince of the blood had so long borne me. He did me the honour to depute to me, at different times, Messieurs de Rieux, de Montataire, de Clermont, and other gentlemen, to acquaint me with his situation and his designs.

The Prince of Condé, upon the news of the king's death, had instantly set out for France, and hoped, by making extraordinary haste, to arrive time enough to take advantage of the rights due to his rank upon this occasion, which were exactly like those on which the King of Navarre, his great-uncle, had endeavoured to gain the preference before Catherine de Médicis; but being soon informed that the queen, without staying for him, or for any of the other princes of the blood, without first settling a council of regency as the laws directed, or observing any of the usual forms on such occasions, had been rather declared than chosen regent, he found that he could no longer indulge a hope of obtaining the regency, and even began to entertain some doubts about the treatment they were preparing for him at court, where, after this, his presence could not fail of being unwelcome: but, as he imagined that nothing was more likely to give weight to his demands than the respect and distinction which the nobles should be observed to pay him upon this occasion, he caused them to be sounded, and gave them to understand that he should think himself obliged to all those who should come to meet him, and escort him into Paris.

This proposal was made to me as well as the rest; but I thought the place I filled required that, before I complied

* Peter de Harcourt, Marquis of Beuvron.

with it, I should obtain the queen's permission, as she now represented the person of the king. She did not expressly forbid me to go and meet the prince, but, by the manner in which she received my request, she hinted that I should do her a pleasure if I abstained from showing him this instance of respect. I also found, by the few words she said, that she gave me, as well as others, liberty to choose between her and the princes of the blood; for it was apparent that she did not expect to be upon good terms with them. It was probable, likewise, that the coldness and reserve which appeared in her countenance proceeded from some resentment she entertained against me for having paid the prince the money I have mentioned: for her confidants had discovered the affair, and did not fail to inform her of it; and she, without doubt, had forgotten that that sum made an article of expense which had been inserted in the accounts; it is likely, also, that the council which was held, and which I forgot to mention till now, was one consequence of this resentment. It was there determined that, till a new order, I should continue to have the direction of the finances, particularly of what related to the pensions of state. I was apprehensive that the queen wanted only such an incident as this to withdraw her favour from me entirely; and I was resolved not to expose myself to her hatred for a thing which did not appear to me to be of much importance. As to the prince, he despatched couriers after couriers to prevail upon me to alter my resolution; and at length he ordered the gentlemen before mentioned to assure me, that he was absolutely determined not to come to Paris at all, since I refused to accompany him in his entry, and to confer with him upon those affairs which would determine the part he was to take, and which he could only know from me.

Thus importuned, I went again to the queen, to solicit her consent that I should meet the prince; but I could obtain no other permission than such a one as plainly indicated her displeasure at my asking it. The choice I was to make was so much the more perplexing, as it lay between two parties which, from thenceforward, must be looked on as totally opposite to each other: however, I declared myself openly for that which would consider my compliance as an essential service, rather than the other, by whom it would be only ac-

knowledged as an instance of complaisance which would be soon forgotten; and I went to meet the prince,* who, notwithstanding all that the Duke of Epernon could say to him, would not set out from the place where he had dined till he knew that I was not far off. I met him in the open road, and alighted to pay my respects to him; but he was off his horse almost as soon as myself, and came to embrace me with equal marks of joy and deference. He began a conference with me as we stood, which lasted a quarter of an hour, though D'Epernon represented to him that it would be late before he got to Paris: he addressed himself by the way often to me upon different subjects. I attended him to the gates of the Louvre, where I left him to pay his compliments to the queen,† and returned myself to the Arsenal.

It was very possible that, at the time when the Prince of Condé seemed apprehensive of meeting with some ill usage from the queen, he secretly flattered himself with having a very different reception, when he reflected upon the good intelligence they were in formerly: and perhaps he had, upon these expectations, formed a plan of conduct quite contrary to that he laid down to me, and assured me he would follow. It was the general opinion when he left France that his discontent and his flight were the effects of that princess's advice and persuasions, and the late king was told so: however that may be, the prince, if he built anything upon the former

* "The prince," says Matthieu, "was at his house at Châteauroux; he had seen the Duke of Sully, who had advised him to return to court, as his presence alone would be of more advantage to the king's service," &c. (Ibid. 28.)

† "The prince came to Paris the 15th of July, accompanied by fifteen hundred gentlemen, which greatly alarmed the queen, who was afraid, as the artillery, the Bastille, and the late king's treasures were in his power, by means of the Duke of Sully, in case the parliament and people should not prove faithful, he might attempt things of very dangerous consequence to the king's service. The prince had no less mistrust of others than what they had of him. On his arrival, he had notice given him three or four times that the queen, at the instigation of the Count of Soissons, had formed a design to secure him and the Duke of Bouillon; which was the reason that, notwithstanding the kind reception he met with from both their majesties, he was up three nights, ready to quit Paris on the first notice he should receive of any attempts being formed against him." (Hist. de la Mère et du Fils, vol. i. p. 101.)

friendship between him and the queen, was soon undeceived, and knew by experience that it was of no force against the jealousy of absolute power. The queen seemed to have forgotten the time when they gave the name of their common interest to the motives by which they were actuated; but it was not her entering into a recital of affairs of state and the government which banished past scenes from her remembrance, for she communicated nothing to him upon those heads, and confined herself to a ceremonial so grave, so cold and reserved, that the prince quitted the Louvre greatly disgusted with his reception.

All this I discovered by the conversation we had together when he came to visit me two days afterwards, though he did not at first explain himself freely, and named no one. I waited for an explanation of his sentiments before I would declare mine; and till then I was still more reserved than he was; but at length he began to talk to me of his designs in terms so clear; expressed all at once so much esteem for me, and such unlimited confidence in my sincerity; showed so ardent a desire to labour, in concert with me, to find proper measures to hinder that confusion and disorder with which the affairs of the State and the finances were threatened; demanded so sincerely my advice concerning the conduct he should pursue for the public good, in the midst of those obstacles which jealously, hatred, and faction were going to oppose to his designs, that I thought I owed so much to his generous confidence, and to the laudable motive by which he was inspired, as to open my heart to him freely upon all that he had said. In this I was more fully determined by his telling me candidly that, among all those to whom he communicated his earnest wishes that the political and domestic affairs of the State might still continue to be governed by the same maxims which the late king had pursued, there was not one who did not endeavour to make him alter his opinion, and inspire him with disgust at the former administration. I was afraid that the view of difficulties either absolutely insurmountable, or which could not be overcome without infinite hazard, would throw him into the path they sought to lead him to.

After I had thanked him for the honour of his esteem and confidence, I made him the following answer, and almost in

these words: That those persons whom he had consulted upon the present question were all too much interested in it to give him such advice as might ruin their hopes and expectations: that I could offer him no other than such as I would give to his uncles, the Prince of Conti and the Count of Soissons, and to the queen herself, were they to consult me with any intentions of being influenced by my reasons, because the real interest of all four, if well examined, would be found to be the same; and this advice was, to unite together to support the honour and grandeur of the king against the nobles, and against that crowd of importunate, ambitious, and self-interested men with which the court was filled; since the designs of all those persons were to take advantage, by methods the least allowable, of a conjuncture which has at all times been the triumph of avarice and licentiousness: that this was the point from whence they were to set out; and that they might not go aside, or give an example to others which they themselves condemned, it was necessary that the whole kingdom should be informed, by a solemn declaration, that their sole view in this union was the glory of the State; and by the effects it produced, the people should be convinced that they were treading in the steps of a king, all of whose designs and undertakings had been justified by that success they hoped to be favoured with: that it was indispensably necessary to protest frequently, and in the most public manner, that they were actuated by the same spirit by which that great prince had found the secret of making a kingdom, plunged in misery and despair, opulent and flourishing; and that the most effectual proof they could give of their exact imitation of him, was to have no selfish views, by refusing all the unjust demands of a multitude of greedy courtiers: I did not mean by this that they were not to expect or desire any reward for themselves; on the contrary, it was one of the advantages which these four persons would derive from this system, that, by directing all affairs with wisdom and prudence, they would in one year accumulate more riches justly, and with honour, than they could in ten by any other method; but that, however, they must not suffer themselves to be tainted by avarice; and this caution I repeated the oftener, because that, of all the virtues necessary to statesmen, there is not one so difficult to practise as moderation, in the midst

of vast treasures and unlimited favour. I added, that I knew already all the plans formed by each of the princes to enjoy what they called their birthright: but also, that by preserving themselves from that dangerous snare, no power would be able to resist them: were all the nobles and all the heads of the different factions to be leagued against them, the interest of the king, when supported by such methods, would become the public and the general interest, and the impression made by the royal name would be then carried to its highest pitch.

I then told the prince, that all that now remained was to know whether the queen and the two other princes of the blood were disposed to take such measures as were necessary for the success of this scheme; but that I was so far from flattering him with this hope, that I freely declared to him he ought not to reckon upon their concurrence; yet that this should not induce him to desist from using his utmost endeavours to bring the queen over, as well because it was necessary that, in a point of this consequence, he should have no cause to reproach himself with any neglect, as because this princess, being already in possession of the royal authority, he would have occasion for the strongest reasons he could urge to justify to the public the extremities he would be obliged to proceed to. That, after this precaution, no consideration whatever should hinder him from taking upon himself the discharge of a duty which the princes his uncles were not willing to share with him; but that when thus deprived of all other support, he must make his actions speak for him; these must show a disinterestedness so determined, a candour and probity so distinguished, as would accustom the people to look upon him as the true friend of the king, themselves, and the State: that a man who employed only such arms as these in so elevated a station, would sooner or later carry all before him: that the Princes of Conti and Soissons would be among the first who were sensible of it, by contrasting the honour which a procedure so great and disinterested would reflect upon the royal blood, with the disrespect, the contempt, and often the affronts they would be exposed to, when the public saw them confounded with the rest of the selfish courtiers: that the queen herself would find many arguments to sway her inclination to a contrary

conduct, especially if she saw the princes of the blood reunited against her. That, in a word, I believed I might venture to engage for it, that necessity, confidence, and the force of the torrent, would at length bring all over to his side; and that there would be no longer any connexions, quarrels, reconciliations, and cabals, between the queen, the princes, and the people in place, which would not turn to the advantage of his authority, if from this moment he would begin to form the plan I had sketched out to him, and follow it faithfully.

The extreme attention with which the prince listened to me, convinced me that I had found the way to his heart, and that I had made that strong impression upon it which is the effect of virtue and justice united in the same object. What has since happened does not prove that I was then deceived; or, if it does, it proves also that the prince deceived himself first; since it is certain that the force of my arguments supported him a long time against the assaults he received on all sides. Whatever arts were made use of by those persons who continually beset him, the slightest attention to the nature of those counsels they gave him must have shown him very plainly that they were dictated by avarice and ambition. How different were such sentiments from those I endeavoured to inspire him with! He felt it, he was convinced of it, and yet he suffered himself, like all the rest, to be carried along with the torrent. The Duke of Bouillon contributed more than any other to engage him in the party of error.* I

* The author of the Life of the Duke of Bouillon, giving an account of the counsels that duke gave the Prince of Condé, says: "He advised him to leave the queen the rank of regent, but to reduce it to a mere title, which might satisfy her vanity, but to get all the actual authority into his own hands. He told him he knew an infallible way of bringing this to pass, which, if he would pursue it, he would be answerable for its success; that this method consisted in his again making profession of the Calvinist religion, from which the late king had drawn him, and to declare himself the protector of the Protestants in France; that being, in consequence of this step, followed by the Calvinist nobility, of whom he would be head, master of all the strong places in the possession of that party (that is, of a hundred and three towns and places well fortified), supported by all the Swiss in France, of whom the Duke of Rohan was colonel-general, secure of all the treasures left by the late king in the Bastille, which the Duke of Sully, discontented with the regent, could put into his hands,—it could not,

myself represent, and probably exaggerate, everything that can serve to justify this prince, by candidly acknowledging that it was not difficult to paint in the finest colours those motives by which they endeavoured to undermine my principles; and that it ought not to appear surprising that a prince, young and inexperienced, should not have discernment enough to distinguish appearances from realities, nor firmness enough to prefer what is useful to what flatters and pleases. It was by the following arguments that they effaced all the impression which mine had made on his mind.

They told him that the reasons I had urged to him tended only to engage him in an absurd imaginary system; that such refined maxims neither suited our times nor our manners; that probity and virtue alone signified nothing; that the chimeras with which I filled his imagination would be laughed at by all reasonable persons; that by thus aspiring to be the support of the whole nation, he would only incur a general hatred, and too late regret that he had not made a better use of so happy a conjuncture; that the only wise part for him to take at a time when the royal treasures were about to become a public prey, was to claim the best and the largest portion of them for himself, as being, next to their majesties, the first person in the kingdom;* that he had pro-

with all these great advantages, be any way doubted but a first prince of the blood, as he was, during a minority, must be in a condition to seize on all the authority, and make himself equally formidable within the kingdom as without. God did not permit him to follow this advice of the Duke of Bouillon; if he had, the Calvinists would have recovered all the advantages they had lost by the late king's conversion: in all probability the kingdom would have been divided between them and the Catholics; and their republic, which was treated as imaginary, would at last have proved something real." (Vol. ii. p. 307.) But many continued persuaded, as this historian himself afterwards owns, that the Duke of Bouillon did not seriously make this proposition to the prince; that he was the first to divert him from it; and that all his intent was only to let the regent see that he himself would be a sufficient security against all the mischief he was able to do her.

* "He would gladly," says the same historian I have just been quoting, "have contested the regency if he had dared; but he was diverted from it by the kind treatment he met with. He had a pension of two hundred thousand livres given him, together with the palace of Conti, in the suburb of St. Germain, which had been bought for two hundred thousand francs, the county of Clermont, and many other gratifications."

fited but little by the necessitous condition to which he had been reduced, if it had not taught him, that when an opportunity offered to extricate himself from it, it ought to be embraced with open arms; that he might be assured it was not so much for his interest as my own that I endeavoured to throw him into a desperate party; that this was the only resource I had left to support my expiring credit; that by seeking to connect his interests with mine, I should drag him down the precipice with me; that the hatred of the nobles and the ministers against me was so great and invincible, that the bare suspicion of my having any influence over him was sufficient to ruin all his expectations and designs; that I had disdained to offer my friendship and services to any one; and, in revenge, all were so well agreed upon that one point, my ruin, that there was no condition which they would not accept from those who were going to have the disposal of all favours and rewards, provided my disgrace was annexed to it.

On occasions like these, when one has been able to render the advice suspected, the adviser is not far from being hated; this was what they undertook to accomplish, and they succeeded. They gave the prince to understand, that it was absolutely necessary, for the system he was going to embrace, that my ruin should be resolved on; what I had said to him myself confirmed it to him; all my own words were turned against me; so that by a strange caprice of the mind (of which, however, politics have furnished more than one example), those very sentiments which but a moment before the prince had admired in my mouth, laid the foundation of that hatred he from thenceforward began to bear me, and of the persecution he raised against me. Then it was that the resolution was taken not to suffer me to continue any longer in the ministry* than was necessary for their own schemes; and in the mean time, to undermine by degrees what power I had still left, and to withdraw, without any seeming design, all the papers, memoirs, and instructions relating to the finances which were in my hands, till the moment arrived

* All these intrigues amongst the princes, the courtiers, and the ministers, to get the Duke of Sully removed, are related in particular memoirs, and especially in l'Histoire de la Mère et du Fils, vol. i. p. 111 et seq., 120, 127 et seq.; in the History of the Duke of Bouillon, vol ii. p. 313 et seq.; and in that of the Duke of Epernon.

when I was to be dismissed for ever. If the execution of this plot was deferred till the following year, it was only because some unforeseen difficulties retarded it.

Probably I did not at that time know all the plots which were then secretly forming against me; but I guessed at so many of them, that I resumed with more earnestness than formerly the resolution that I had endeavoured to make my family agree to, which was, to retire from court before I should appear to be forced from it; I even went so far as to mention my design to the queen regent, and entreated her not to oppose it. Although by this proposal I was, doubtless, answering all her views, yet she used such profound dissimulation in the answer she made me, that although I had suffered myself to be deceived, yet I think I could not have been accused of too great credulity. Conchini and his wife had never more influence over her than at this time; she began to be wholly governed by them; yet she pretended to be as much disgusted with their proceedings as I was myself; she endeavoured to persuade me that she was fully satisfied with my conduct; that she should be greatly perplexed if I abandoned her at a time when the king's coronation would give her sufficient employment; and that it would take up all the remainder of the year to prepare for the changes which my dismission from my employments must necessarily make in affairs. I accommodated myself to her will without suffering my own to be altered; for though I continued to perform all the duties of my offices, yet I was so constantly upon my guard against the machinations of my enemies, that I would not leave them an opportunity of despoiling me themselves.

They at length came to a resolution with regard to the affair of Cleves; indeed, it could not be longer delayed, if they had any desire to appear concerned in it. The army of the confederates, joined to that of the United Provinces, had laid siege to Juliers; and the Prince of Orange, who commanded it, had taken such measures, that the place must of necessity fall into his hands. Our supplies were wholly useless to him, because the house of Austria had taken no step, nor set any troops on foot to oppose her enemies; and after this exploit, the war, as they proposed to carry it on, must be soon at an end. But the new council of the queen, com-

posed of those persons I have already mentioned, thought they should show a masterpiece of policy by now granting them more than what they had been so long and ineffectually soliciting. They knew the condition the besieged city was in, and they were desirous of having the honour of taking it, as it could not hold out long after the arrival of our troops. They likewise imagined that this would be an incitement to the King of Spain to solicit an alliance with us, for which they thought he did not show eagerness enough; and they were ashamed to make all the advances themselves. It was resolved, therefore, that a body of eight thousand foot, twelve hundred horse, and eight pieces of cannon should be immediately sent to Juliers, and that the command of this army should be given to the Marshal de la Châtre.

When this determination was made public, and for form's sake laid before the general council, I could not refrain from speaking my sentiments of it freely. I desired to know for what end they were at the expense of this army against enemies who did not defend themselves, and for allies who no longer needed our assistance? I declared my opinion of this unseasonable succour, which was not much for our honour. I represented to them the difficulties and delays to which our troops were exposed by this unnecessary march; and, indeed, to perform it without having anything to fear from the enemies they might meet in their journey, they must be obliged to go a great way about, and traverse rude, mountainous, and barren countries. Conchini, who had brought over the Count of Soissons and the Duke of Bouillon to his opinion, and who was satisfied with his own secret reasons, suffered me to talk on, like a man to whom they scorned to disclose their designs: and the departure of the troops was resolved on. However, to prevent any further importunity from me, and to give me even a personal interest in this armament, they granted my son-in-law (who had long solicited a distinguished employment in the German army) the post of field-marshal-general; which was likely to be so much the more acceptable, as this rank gave him an unquestionable right to the chief command, if anything should happen to the general. It was not impossible, even, that La Châtre would, through some disgust, resign the command, as

he had more than once been upon the point of doing. The difficulty of the roads alarmed him, as well as the dangers he might encounter in his march; and he also owned to me and to some others of the council that the Jesuits raised great scruples in his mind about joining the heretics against good Catholics. However, I gave him a little courage by telling him of a more convenient route than that which he had designed to take; and he disposed himself to begin his march.

The preparations for this armament, which fell to my charge, were made in such a manner, that the army was composed of the best troops we had then on foot; they had a complete train of artillery, well served; and the fund for the expenses was so large, that the treasurer brought back a hundred thousand crowns. Prince Maurice acknowledged that he had not for a long time seen so fine and so well-disciplined a body of troops; he expressed some surprise, indeed, that the general, who by all appearances should be one of our best soldiers, had but a very slight knowledge of what was practised in sieges and in other parts of war.

This is all that I shall say of this expedition; the historians*

* See an account of the taking of Juliers, and of this expedition, in the Merc. Franç. and other histories, anno 1610. The taking of Juliers obliged the emperor to lay aside his design of sequestering into the hands of the Archduke Leopold of Austria the territories that were in dispute; and the Dukes of Brandenburg and Neuburg quietly shared the whole succession between them: the Elector of Brandenburg had Cleves, La Mark, and Ravensburg; and the Duke of Neuburg, Juliers and Berg. Philip-Louis, son of this Duke of Neuburg, had two sons, of whom one continued the branch of Neuburg; and from the youngest the Counts of Sulsbach are descended; in whom the two branches are now about to be reunited, because the branch of Neuburg will become extinct in the present elector palatine, and from hence, a hundred and thirty years after the death of Duke William of Juliers, the same difficulties on this eventual succession are again likely to arise; the King of Prussia, of the house of Brandenburg, being able to produce the following reason for his opposition to this reunion, that the two branches were separated when the treaty of 1666 was made, which seems only to stipulate for descendants of the contracting parties;[1] and the emperor, on the other hand, finding it his interest to support the

[1] This was written before the death of the last emperor and the last elector palatine.

have given a more particular account of what happened in it, how our army passed into Germany, and how it returned. My fears of being too sincere upon this subject, and the very unuseful part I now began to act, obliges me to hasten towards the conclusion of these Memoirs.

Prince of Sulbach, because, if this young prince should happen to die without male issue, he would make use of his old pretext of the male fiefs as a reason for his taking possession of Juliers and Berg, besides the interest he would have in it on account of the princes of Saxony, his allies. There appeared a work in two volumes in 1738 wherein this matter is discussed and very well explained.

# BOOK XXIX.

[1610—1611.]

The reason why the princes, grandees, and ministers hated Sully—He opposes the unjust proceedings of the council—Refuses to sign a *comptant* at the queen's request—Quarrels in full council with the Duke of Bouillon—Disputes in the court and council—Coronation of Louis XIII.—Sully goes to Montrond, and is taken ill there—Reasons for the queen regent and the ministers recalling him—The reception given him by this princess, who afterwards takes part with Conchini and the ministers against him—His resolution in opposing the unjust demands of the grandees, and the dissipation of the royal treasures—The uneasiness he suffers on this occasion—He quarrels with Villeroy and D'Alincourt in full council—The princes, lords, and ministers enter into a confederacy against him—He takes a resolution to retire for ever from court—Different opinions concerning his retreat—He resigns the superintendence of the finances, the government of the Bastille, &c.—The prudent advice which he gives his secretaries—Their obligations to him—He prevents the artifices of his enemies to ruin him—His letters to the queen regent for this purpose, in which he justifies his conduct and his administration—The queen's answers—The king increases his pension—He gives a general account of his public and private conduct, of his wealth, and of his domestic affairs—His faithful performances of the promises he made to Henry IV.

WHAT I have just related in the preceding Book respecting Cleves and the conduct of the queen regent towards me, took from me, at length, all hope of bringing back the court to just notions upon the two chief points of government, the conduct of foreign affairs and the management of the finances: on the contrary, the changeableness of the prince, what I saw daily pass before my eyes, and, above all, the air of dissimulation which in the last place they had recourse to, convinced me that they would never get out of the confusion in which the affairs of the council seemed to be lost, but by such an extrication as I was always afraid of. In order to bring that about some time was necessary; for connexions so strong and so well cemented as those which the king had

formed for the destruction of the house of Austria, with all those of the princes interested in its destruction, are not broken all at once, nor sometimes without a struggle which has mischievous consequences. But I have no reason to doubt but that the queen regent and her councillors employed all their arts to make them ineffectual. That prejudice in favour of what they called the party of religion; the hatred they bore to all Protestants, whether French or foreigners; a natural inclination, strengthened by habit, to unite with Spain, every impulse of which they could not help following publicly, when, the designs of Henry the Great becoming manifest, they were convicted of supporting a cause at once odious and desperate: it could not be expected that the force of these motives was abated, when, by an unexpected stroke, they found themselves upon the point of accomplishing what they had so ardently desired. My religion, my engagements, the advice I had given to the late king, of which at least the certain effect would have been the free exercise of the Protestant religion in France and in all Christendom; even the death of that prince, which seemed to declare me the only repository of his sentiments and the executor of his designs, all the glory and honour of which must necessarily reflect upon me,—these were their motives for hatred against a man who had already so many powerful enemies; and, by the care which Sillery and Villeroy took to enforce them, they could not fail of having a speedy effect.

Another motive, less openly declared, but probably stronger than all the others, because it directly attacked those private interests, united them all a second time against me. This was a too exact and too impartial administration of the finances for persons whose avarice had already, in imagination, engrossed to themselves all the treasures of the late king. I have on this head an infinite number of circumstances to relate, which certainly will not do any honour to the French name; but it would be to no purpose to be silent, since they are generally known. The reader, then, may here see some of the most important of them: they will serve to give him an idea of the court at that time.

I shall begin with the favourite of the queen regent. He cast his eyes at first upon the post of first gentleman of the bedchamber, not that this dignity was capable of satisfying

his ambition, but it was necessary to begin by obtaining a rank which might take away the disproportion that had hitherto been between him and the other courtiers. To this motive was added some personal resentment against Bellegarde, the cause of which I shall not relate, because it would lead me into too long a discussion. It was highly flattering to the vanity of Conchini that the first step he was seen to take at court should put him upon a par with his rival:* he therefore caused it to be proposed to the Duke of Bouillon to treat with him for this post. Bouillon, who really intended to sell it, readily accepted the proposal, and was well paid for his compliance; for, in the first place, he obtained a suppression of the offices established by his majesty in the neighbourhood of Sedan for levying taxes upon all goods and merchandises exported and imported; so that this gratuity may, without exaggeration, be said to be worth more to him than his whole principality. To this Conchini added two hundred thousand livres, under a pretence that he had been promised that sum upon surrendering his city. I represented to them that the Duke of Bouillon had been exactly paid all that was promised him, and if they looked into the account they would be convinced of it: but what I said was not regarded, and all the expense Henry had been at to get possession of Sedan ended in paying twice for the place, which, after all, was still in Bouillon's hands.

Conchini, however, did not effect his purpose so easily as he had imagined: the Count of Soissons, as I have already hinted, opposed him as well in that as in his solicitations for the archbishopric of Tours; but he did it in such a manner as left him room to hope there was a possibility of gaining him, and Conchini soon found the means. He caused the government of Normandy to be given to him, and to this end did not scruple to take it away from the second son of France. The late king, that he might avoid creating any jealousy among those who aspired to this government (which I had refused with the condition of changing my religion annexed to it), and willing to oblige Fervaques, who well deserved

* The Marquis d'Ancre (for so he began then to be called) had a difference with the master of the horse, the particulars whereof may be seen in the History of the Regency of Queen Marie de Médicis.

that he should have this consideration for him, had bestowed it upon his own son. It was not possible for me to give my assent to this action of Conchini, or to the gratuity given by the council to the Count of Soissons, at his majesty's expense, by purchasing, at a high price, some very inconsiderable claims which the house of Montaffié had in Piedmont, of which mention has been already made. However, notwithstanding all my remonstrances, the bargain was concluded. It was now their custom to suffer me to talk, but to act without me.

Conchini found out a method how to dispose of part of the king's treasures without its appearing that the sums raised by those means were received or employed for his use. This was by persuading the queen to continue the issuing of *comptants*,* as the late king was used to do. She wrote the following letter to me upon this occasion, dated the 15th of June:

"COUSIN,—I am resolved, for one year more, to continue the *comptants* for the payment of those sums which the late king my lord ordered the treasurers of the exchequer to deposit in his privy purse: Beringhen shall distribute the money arising from hence to the same persons as formerly. I therefore send this to acquaint you that it is my desire you should direct the treasurer of the exchequer at present in office to pay into the hands of the aforesaid Beringhen the said *comptant* for the July quarter."

The next day Puget and D'Argogues brought one of these *comptants* to me that I might settle it, and write underneath an order for the payment. I took it, and at the first glance did not observe that it contained anything but a great number of sums which the late king caused to be paid in

* The *comptants* were orders for payments of money, or receipts for sums paid by the king's order, without specifying in what manner the money so paid was employed. Henry IV. and Louis XIII., or their ministers, severely felt the abuses that might be made of them; but an infinite number of expenses, which interests of state required to be kept secret, prevented their being abolished. Cardinal de Richelieu determined to put an end to them, but in lieu thereof to leave a million of gold in the king's hands for his private expenses, and to be disposed of at his pleasure. (Test. Polit., part ii. p. 143.)

this form: but the amount of the whole appearing to me to be excessively large, instead of looking any further, I told the bearers that it was true the conduct of Henry IV. seemed to authorise this form, but that at present this writing did not appear to me to be any longer a sufficient discharge to him who should venture to give an order for its payment. They replied, that if I would take the trouble to read to the end of the paper, I should find my objection removed by a discharge so valid that I need not have recourse to any other person for it. I continued to read, being curious to know how a paper which seemed to contain nothing more than the articles of a *comptant*, and that not very long, should produce a sum of nine hundred thousand two hundred and ten livres and fourteen sols, which I had seen by casting my eyes upon the sum total. My curiosity was soon satisfied: the two or three first articles were followed by others with which I was not greatly pleased, and which seemed only inserted there in order to prepare me for a morsel still harder to digest: this was a single article of four hundred thousand livres, with no other explanation than these few words, which were not very likely to banish my scruples: "Paid into the hands of the late king."

I stopped short, and looking earnestly upon Puget, asked him whether this ingenious trick was of his own invention; then resolutely told him that the late king had never taken up so much money at once for his private purse; and that I had good proofs of his having never received this sum, either in part or the whole. He still continued to answer with the same indifference that what I should see at the bottom would remove all difficulties. This was four or five lines, written by the queen herself, and in these terms: "We have examined the articles of the above *comptant*, amounting to nine hundred thousand two hundred and ten livres and fourteen sols, and know that this sum was really disbursed by the command of the late king my lord to be passed in the form of a *comptant*, as usual, which he was prevented from by death. We are satisfied that the said articles are all just, and order an acquittance of *comptant* to be expedited, to serve as a discharge for Puget, treasurer of the exchequer.—Given at Paris, July 16, 1610, signed Mary."

It did not immediately occur to me what resolution it was

proper for me to take; but, after a moment's reflection, "Monsieur Puget," said I, "what I have read does not explain to me for what reason so large a sum is demanded of me; for I can never be persuaded that the late king received it. It is in vain, therefore, that you press me to sign it upon that supposition; you must, consequently, be satisfied with this paper, such as it is, for your discharge; for, you may depend upon it, I will add nothing to it." The affair did not rest here: they renewed their endeavours to obtain my signature with as much obstinacy as I refused it; for two whole days I was persecuted about this *comptant*: at last they left me in quiet, and it remained among the rest of my papers; but neither the queen regent nor Conchini ever forgot it. The favourite thought this but a bad example for those whom he was endeavouring to bring to a perfect conformity with all his desires: as for the queen, her resentment at my conduct on this occasion was so great, that she could not, with all her art, conceal it; and if till then she had at times made some slight reflections upon what the king her husband had often said to her of the great use I should be to her in the administration of affairs, from that moment all remembrance of it was erased, and gave place to a settled resolution to bestow my employments upon a person who would be more tractable.

The chancellor gave me an example of what sort of behaviour they expected; but, instead of following it, I could not help reproaching him one day with a fraud truly unpardonable, on occasion of a letter of exemption for the purchase of the registry of the parliament and of the Châtelet of Paris, which was shown in full council as having been expedited and sealed by the late king, although I knew that he had obstinately refused to grant it, notwithstanding Villeroy had, at different times, used his utmost endeavours to prevail upon him. The law ordains that when the king dies his seal shall be broken. This the chancellor not only neglected to do, but even dared to make use of it to authenticate several false regulations in favour of Conchini and some others, and continued this practice during five years after the king's demise, for which he had a double convenience, as his son, who was secretary of state, forged all those writings which he

put the last hand to. Monsieur the admiral* received the assistance it gave him as if it came from Heaven. He brought to be registered in the parliament letters patent for duke and peer for the lordship of Damville in as good, and perhaps better, form than they would have had if Henry IV. had been living.

I find a second letter from the queen regent of the same date with the former, but it was on a subject of less importance. It related to a breach which was to be repaired in the fortifications lately raised before the city and castle of Vendôme, at the desire of the Sieur Jumeaux, who was governor of it.

It would have been very difficult, exposed as I was to frequent quarrels with the ministers and nobles, to have avoided one with the Duke of Bouillon, who on all occasions gave me proofs that he had not forgotten or pardoned my having always preferred the king's interest to his, and who only waited for some opportunity to show his resentment of it. He one day proposed in the council that all those who were in possession of the chief offices and employments in the kingdom should be required to give in accounts of receipts and expenditure, to be examined there. The council received this proposal in the same spirit with him that made it; for, general as it seemed, yet it was levelled at me alone; and Bouillon undertook to give me notice of it, by saying to me, in full council likewise, that, being a man who loved method and exactness, and who was always desirous of setting others a good example, he did not doubt but that I would begin, by laying before the council those accounts which related to my post of master-general of the ordnance. I replied, in an accent and manner which possibly he did not expect, that whenever the king and queen were pleased to require it, I would lay my accounts before them, and with so much the more willingness, as I was well assured they would find nothing in them but what would be to their satisfaction and my honour. That, in a minority, the princes of the blood represented the king's person likewise, therefore I would give them the same satisfaction; but that I was too well acquainted with the extent of the rights and privileges

* Charles de Montmorency, Duke of Damville.

of my employment not to know that, to make it accountable to any other tribunal, was to debase it. "Sir," replied the duke, "it appears to me that the constable and the marshals of France having a right to take cognizance of all affairs of the army, as they fall immediately under their inspection by the nature of their offices, so they may likewise of all posts and employments relating to it; and yours is one of the chief of that kind." "I see plainly, sir," returned I, without endeavouring to conceal my resentment at this procedure, "that you have long designed me this affront, and that you are artfully seeking to support yourself with the constable, whose rank, merit, and years, I honour and esteem, and for whose friendship I am greatly obliged. I do not apprehend that any dispute will arise between him and me upon this matter; but as for you and all the others, I declare that I do not think myself accountable to you in what regards my office, but to the king alone." "You must at least acknowledge, sir," replied the Duke of Bouillon, "that your patent being directed to us, it implies that we have some authority there." "Sir," said I, "you have either read it very slightly, or but ill understood what you read, since, if what you assert be true, I am likewise accountable to the mayors, the sheriffs, and the captains of the city-gates, in what regards my employments, since the patent is directed to them as well as to the marshals and governors of France; but, if you are really ignorant why those clauses are inserted, now know from me, that it is in order that I may be assisted by all those persons in whatever I require of them, which carries rather an idea of superiority than the contrary."

The queen, who found that the dispute was growing warm, and that it might produce a quarrel between us, imposed silence upon us both, and introduced another question. Bouillon's flattery to the constable missed of the effect he proposed by it, for I was as much beloved by that nobleman for the services I had done him in some very difficult circumstances, as Bouillon, who had drawn him into those circumstances, was disliked by him. When the council broke up, he told the queen, in Bouillon's presence, that his claim was ill founded; then, addressing himself to the duke, he entreated him not to make any more attempts to engage him

in his personal resentments and schemes of revenge. This quarrel made a great noise at court, because the friends of each party thought it incumbent upon them to engage in it. It was not here as in the council: my party was now greatly superior to his. The families of Guise, Longueville, and many others, declared themselves openly for me.

Nor did Conchini and his wife continue long to be in good intelligence with the ministers and the other chief persons of the State. It is the fate of connexions, produced by a spirit of interest, that the same cause which gives them birth, destroys them with the greater facility. Hence followed a thousand scandalous scenes: they came openly to reproaches and abuses, which, from some remains of decency, should have been stifled. As the whole court was actuated by the same spirit, it was soon filled with hatred, jealousy, and faction; none but base or criminal methods were employed in disputing for favours or in obtaining them; some old grudge or some new resentment embittered every mind, and the most sanguinary catastrophes were often apprehended among persons of the highest rank: it became necessary to watch them continually, to prevent the fatal effects of their quarrels. The public was not ignorant of the motives which animated one against the other; all the princes of the blood, the constable, the master of the horse, the Duke of Epernon, and many more. In these dissensions Conchini had always the greatest part;* sometimes, while the balance was held between these illustrious rivals, the favours for which they disputed fell into the hands of mean, inconsiderable persons. Discord, confusion, injustice, and fraud, all the evils which follow the contempt of subordination, poured in like a deluge upon the court and council, and more than once revenged the insulted memory of Henry the Great upon his domestic enemies, by those very means which they had made choice of to revenge themselves.

There was not any of the European powers who did not, by their ambassadors, acquit themselves of what they owed to this great king; but it was easy to distinguish among them those who were more sincere in their compliments

* See the detail of these intrigues and court quarrels in Siri, vol. ii. p. 327, and in the histories of the period.

of congratulation for the accession of the new king to the throne, than in those of condolence for the loss of him whom he succeeded. There were found Frenchmen base enough to say to the ambassadors from the King of Spain and the archduke these very words: "Your tears need not wet your handkerchiefs much; it was a stroke of Providence that saved the king and the Catholic religion from ruin." I shall say nothing of the reception that was given to these ambassadors.

My heart was too much removed from every sensation of joy to allow me to have any part in the ceremony of the king's coronation;* therefore, while every one took the road to Rheims, I set out for Montrond, after having obtained the queen's permission to go to one of my country houses. I carefully concealed my design of not returning again to Paris, at least while I saw the same dispositions among the courtiers, and the same disorder in affairs. But I had really taken this resolution, which was confirmed by my being attacked with a violent illness immediately after I arrived at Montrond, and which I could attribute to no other cause than the painful situation my heart had been in for four months. It was here also that, to calm the perturbations of my mind, I composed those two little pieces of poetry, one of which is entitled "A Parallel between Cæsar and Henry the Great," and the other, "An Adieu to the Court."

If this adieu was not the last, it was not my fault; I saw very plainly that I could not remain there. The secret council held at the house of the nuncio, which I have already mentioned, was continually recurring to my mind; to this I added some words which a princess, my relation and friend, told me she had heard said to the queen at the same time. Many other circumstances of this nature filled my mind with the strongest forebodings that the whole Protestant Church was on the eve of a persecution. By a letter which Préaux wrote to me from Châtellerault, dated November 10, he seemed to be of the same opinion. "Already," says he, "I fancy I see the theatre raised to renew our tragedies." With

* The ceremony is very minutely described in the Merc. Franç., the royal MSS., P. Matthieu, &c., anno. 1610. It was performed the 17th of October.

this melancholy expectation my resolution was already settled to dispose of all my employments to those persons who should be recommended to me by Conchini and his wife, as money seemed to be cheapest with them. I intended to send one-third of the sums raised by these sales to Switzerland, another to Venice, and another to Holland, where I proposed to retire myself, when the storm appeared ready to break out, with all the money that by good economy I had saved out of my yearly revenue. Thus had I regulated my affairs; and that I made any alteration in this plan was owing to the following circumstance.

That jealousy and misunderstanding which subsisted among the nobles and persons in office, rendered the ceremony of the coronation so tumultuous and disorderly that it was expected some dangerous consequences would follow. I do not speak here of their disputes for rank and precedence only. The Duke of Epernon, although for some years past, as it appeared, intimately connected with Conchini, yet one day, in concert with the Duke of Eguillon, used language to him equally severe, injurious, and threatening, and this in public. The Duke of Nevers, supported by the princes of the blood, treated Villeroy, Sillery, and Jeannin in the same manner. They were seized with consternation and fear; they found that they had not power, and, doubtless, felt they were not innocent enough to repel these reproaches, and now began to be sensible of the need they had of me. It might have dangerous consequences if the princes and nobles were suffered to go on in reproving the ministers of state. I appeared to them to be the only man capable of putting things upon another footing, by the authority, the respect, and even the awe, which my birth, my character, and my manners had acquired me in the council; and they so earnestly solicited the queen to make use of her influence over me to oblige me to return, that she sent me by an express the following letter:

"Cousin,—The coronation of the king, Monsieur my son, being happily performed at Rheims, we shall in a short time set out for Paris; and because many affairs that require your presence, on account of your employments, and the great abilities you have shown in the exercise of them, will be

transacted the latter end of this year and the beginning of the next, I desire you will return to Paris with all possible haste, that we may find you there upon our arrival. So, in full assurance that you will not fail, I beseech God, &c. —Written at Rheims, October 6, 1610.

"Your good cousin,

"MARY."

I imagined that, by eluding this journey for the present, they would think no more of it; therefore my answer to the queen was conceived in these terms:

"MADAM,—My inclination, my duty, and the honour you do me by remembering me, are all motives equally strong to engage my obedience to your majesty's commands; but a dangerous illness, from which I am but lately recovered, has left me in so weak a condition, and the certain knowledge I have that my presence in the council is not agreeable to several persons who have more authority there than I have, oblige me most humbly to entreat you not to be offended that I delay going to court till I have recovered my strength; and that when I do attend your majesty there, you will permit me, before those persons whom you shall please to appoint, to give you an account of my administration, to lay before you the state in which I leave the affairs of the kingdom, and the form I think necessary to be observed to keep them in the same order and tranquillity they are now in. I must beg your majesty to believe that this will be the sole end of my journey, and that I have no intention or desire to concern myself any further in the administration of affairs. I believe I have settled everything relating to my employments in such a manner as the secretaries of the exchequer and the other officers can certify to your majesty, that my presence may be dispensed with till the latter end of the year; at which time, if my health will permit me, I shall not fail to go to Paris to pay all possible obedience to the king's commands and yours; and upon this truth, I beseech the Creator &c.—From Montrond, October 12, 1610."

This was not what the queen proposed to herself from the step she had taken to recal me: she perceived that by de-

laying my return to court I was only forming excuses for appearing there no more, or that, if I did come, the part I should play there would not be very proper to oblige those who had deserted her favourite again to solicit his friendship, which was all she had in view; and to effect this, she made use of all my friends,* my wife, my son, and my son-in-law particularly. She began by an insinuating and gracious behaviour to them, showed such an unreserved confidence in me, added so many kind expressions and promises so flattering to their hopes, that they were now more than ever confirmed in their belief that I should commit a great error by laying down my employments. She afterwards sent them one after the other to me, charged with the most obliging letters, and the fullest assurances of her favour and esteem. I endeavoured, but in vain, to make them sensible that all this was deep art on the queen's side; their solicitations, their entreaties, became persecution, which at length fatigued me so much, that, being desirous of avoiding reproaches to which I saw no end, and considering likewise that my compliance with requests thus earnestly urged would expose me to no inconveniences for the present, I resolved to throw myself, though fairly warned of my danger, into all the snares that were laid for me at court, and again postponed the execution of my first design. I therefore set forward to Paris, but showed no great eagerness to get there, since I did not reach that city till the sixteenth day after my departure from Montrond. The next morning, as I was preparing to go and pay my respects to the king and the queen regent, I was informed that the king would pass the whole forenoon in the Tuileries, and that the queen was to dine at Zamet's. I did not doubt but that my attending her there would be very acceptable to her; and indeed she received me in the most gracious manner imaginable. She several times repeated, with an air of freedom and even pleasure, by which I myself was almost imposed upon, that she would follow no other counsels but mine. She entreated me to attach my-

* "Bouillon had orders to go to him (M. de Sully) at Paris, on his return from his country-seat, and to assure him of the queen's regard for him, and that she would place the same confidence in him the late king had. He accepted the queen's offer," &c. (Hist. de la Mère et du Fils, vol. i. p. 112.)

self to her son, as I had done to the late king. She told me that she would not suffer me to lay down my employments; that she would take such measures that I should execute them in an absolute independence; and desired me to begin with the accounts of the finances for the year 1611, as I used to do; none of the ministers having shown themselves willing to take this care upon them during my absence, and she herself being desirous that I should continue to discharge it. The queen continued her discourse till dinner was served: I can relate only a small part of it. When she arose from table she entertained me with the disputes that had happened during the coronation. She informed me that the nobles had made an infinite number of demands, but that she had resolved to conclude nothing till my return; however, she avoided saying anything particular on this head, but only told me that she would talk to me more fully the first opportunity, and would let me know what were the services she required of me on this occasion: these words seemed entirely free from reserve. The whole court appeared so gay that it was but too probable this serious conversation was extremely disagreeable; accordingly it gave place to others more common, and at three o'clock the queen returned to the Louvre.

I went thither the next day to pay my respects to the king, to the princes his brothers, and the princesses his sisters. This part of the court was still untainted: the governesses, the nurses, the other women and officers which composed the household of these young princes, formed a kind of separate people, to whom the memory of King Henry was still dear. The source of their tears and lamentations were not yet dried up: I wept with them while we talked of that good prince; they conjured me, by every motive which they thought could make any impression upon my mind, by the friendship Henry had for me, by my attachment to him, not to abandon the children of a father to whom I had now no other way of acquitting myself of what I owed him. Their entreaties and their tenderness could add nothing to those sentiments of gratitude and affection which filled my heart, and, to our mutual misfortune, could not increase my power of serving them. Upon my attentively viewing the three princes, I thought I discovered in the countenance and behaviour of the young king strong indications of those happy

dispositions which time has since ripened and disclosed. I imparted my thoughts to my wife when I returned home; but it was with grief that I judged Heaven would not give a long life to the second of these princes.*

I was visited by almost the whole court, with all those false shows of friendship, those praises and civilities, which never so nearly resemble the true as when the heart has the least share in them. Conchini, who had taken care to have it insinuated to me by Zamet and D'Argouges that he was the person to whom I was most obliged for the gracious reception I had met with from the queen, and for her kind intentions towards me, waited three whole days in expectation that I should acknowledge this favour by making him a complimentary visit, which the courtiers had accustomed him to look upon as a tribute due to his great influence and authority, or that I should at least send some person to discharge this duty for me. However, as he neither saw me nor received any message from me, he condescended at length to make me a visit; but that I might not assume too much upon a step by which he conceived that he degraded himself, he was very careful to make me sensible that he came only upon his own business; and, indeed, our conversation turned chiefly upon his post of first gentleman of the bedchamber, upon his pensions, which the queen had ordered should be carried to account in the same manner as those of Bellegarde, and upon a gift which he had lately received out of the offices of the *gabelle* in Languedoc, for which he had a brevet, obtained before the late king's death, but this I did not think proper to mention to him. I thought my answers to all this were not calculated to inspire him with any inclination to quit the subject he was upon, and for which he said he had come to me; yet he could not help it: but I believe it was not long before he repented it; for having slided in, by way of advice, that the best thing I could do would be to comply with the queen in all things, and ac-

* This prince died the 16th or 17th of November in the next year, at the age of four years and a half. A quantity of water was found in his head, the too great thickness of the skull stopping the perspiration in that part; which proved the innocence of Le Maître, physician to the children of France, who was accused of having poisoned this young prince. (Merc. Franç., anno 1611, p. 158.)

commodate myself wholly to her will (which was tacitly charging me with ruining my own affairs by my obstinacy), I made him this short and severe answer: "That I would pay an exact obedience to all the commands of the queen regent when they were for the service of the king, the advantage of affairs, and the relief of the people; and when my honour and my conscience told me I might do it without prejudicing either." Every word he uttered seemed to increase the aversion I had to him. He added something more, but with that caution which my behaviour to him seemed to authorise. I answered with equal coldness and reserve, and we parted very ill-satisfied with each other: he, I believe, with fewer hopes than ever of moulding me to his purpose, and I full of grief at the advancement of those misfortunes which this presumptuous, insatiable man, without abilities, without experience, yet invested with an absolute authority, was bringing upon France.

It appeared to me, from the day after this conversation, that things were greatly altered: the queen, whom I went to wait upon at the Louvre, seemed to have lost much of her former graciousness; yet she constrained herself to preserve some appearance of it, that the alteration might not be too remarkable, and to hinder me from imputing it to the conversation I had the day before with Conchini: she again mentioned to me the importunate demands of the grandees, taxed them with extravagance, and seemed resolved to refer them to the council; at which she desired that I would always be present, to take care that nothing passed there contrary to the interest of the king and the State. She promised me, upon her royal word, presenting her hand at the same time to me, that she would support me there as strenuously as the late king had done. I lost all my suspicions at this declaration; I flattered myself for a moment that this princess, having seriously reflected on all that had lately happened, was become sensible of the danger of pursuing those measures they endeavoured to engage her in; but I was soon undeceived.

Prepared as I was for irregular proceedings, I could not, without extreme surprise, see that scarcely any business was transacted in the council but what related to gifts to the nobles, to augmentations of the pensions to persons in office,

the paying of debts which had been cancelled, the abatement of farms and discharges of the farmers, and revocations of the contracts made for the rents, registries, and domains; creations of new offices, exemptions, and privileges; in a word, a thousand schemes to render the people miserable, instead of applying the treasures amassed by the late king to their relief, as, in justice, ought to have been done; since the circumstances of affairs were so changed, that the design for which they were raised could not be executed: but the rapaciousness of the great lords would have swallowed sums far more considerable. Here follow the demands, which the chief amongst them endeavoured to oblige the queen and the council to grant them. It must not be expected here that this article can extend itself into a list, as I am afraid the other will appear, though I have cut off the demand of doubling and trebling the pensions, as a matter common to almost all the articles.

At the head of this list I shall put the prince, who caused me to be solicited, sometimes openly, sometimes in a covert manner, to support his pretensions to the government of Château-Trompette, to that of Blaye, and to the principality of Orange, extended as far as the borders of the Rhône. The Count of Soissons demanded the government of the old palace of Rouen, that of the castle of Caen, and that an edict on linen cloth should be created for his profit, which I have mentioned in its place. The Duke of Lorraine demanded the payment of the whole sum expressed in his treaty, although I had settled this affair a long time ago, when it was agreed that that sum should be reduced two-thirds. The Duke of Guise solicited for a marriage between himself and Madame de Montpensier, for the revocation of the rights of patents in Provence, and of offices for collecting the duties at the gates of Marseilles: he demanded likewise that his debts should be paid. The Duke of Mayenne demanded other sums besides those expressed in his treaty. D'Eguillon, a gift of thirty thousand crowns, the government of Bresse, and the city of Bourg; and the embassy of Spain, with excessive appointments. Joinville, the government of Auvergne, or the first that became vacant. The Duke of Nevers demanded the property of the *gabelles* of Réthelois, with the governments of Mézières and St. Menchout. The

Duke of Epernon, a body of infantry kept constantly on foot; the reversion of his government for his son; fortifications to be raised at Angoulême and at Saintes; Metz, and the county of Messin, taken from Montigny. The Duke of Bouillon demanded a sum of money for the payment of old debts, which he pretended were due to him; the *aides, tailles,* and *gabelles* of the viscounty of Turenne for his use; and that the homage of this viscounty should be reduced to a simple homage; the arrears of his garrisons and his pensions during his exile; the right of holding general assemblies of the Reformed religion. The chancellor demanded the money arising from the petty seals, his salary to be doubled, and letters of nobility in Normandy. Villeroy demanded that a garrison should be maintained at Lyons, the royal lieutenancy of the province taken from Saint-Chaumont; a marshal's staff for his son D'Alincourt, the repeal of a bargain which I had made for the repurchase of the crown lands in that province, and the mortgages of his registries and upon the king's lands.

It will be easily imagined that Conchini's demands were not less considerable than those of any other; a marshal's staff, the governments of Bourg, Dieppe, and Pont-de-l'Arche; a donation of the money produced by the offices of the *gabelle* of Languedoc, passed in the form of a *comptant;* the profit arising from the reduction made upon public works, granted to Moisset and to Feydeau: such was his portion. Châteauvieux, the Chevalier de Sillery, Dolle, Déagent, Arnaud the intendant, Duret the physician, all the members of the queen's privy council, who solicited so well for others, did not forget their own affairs. It would be almost the same thing to enumerate all those persons of any quality who had a share in this profuse distribution of pensions, gratuities, privileges, appointments, &c., as to name those who were comprehended in this list, for every one had some claim there; the princes, governors of provinces, the lieutenant-civil, the prévôt des marchands, and even the societies and sovereign courts; all the officers of the crown were to have their pensions augmented twenty-four thousand livres each; and the salaries of every member of the council raised in proportion, and their number to be considerably increased. In a word, there seemed to be a general conspiracy

to pillage the royal treasure, which was now considered as a lawful prize.

The indignation which I felt in myself against a licentiousness that degenerated into an attempt upon the royal authority, would not permit me to examine whether the resolution I had taken, singly to oppose this multitude of rapacious courtiers, was absolutely prudent; but this nothing could persuade me from doing, while the place I held in the council authorised such a conduct. My honour, my conscience, my reputation, which I was called upon to support; the interest of the king and the people, whose only defender I considered myself, would not permit me to attend to my own safety: the last words, nay, the entreaties of the queen regent, gave me a right to oppose them: and though I was very sensible that she did not desire I should understand them literally, yet, all things considered, I was going to render her a service so essential, that she could not, or ought not, to disavow it; and yet I had another motive, which I will not scruple to declare, since I would have my most secret sentiments known to the reader. That desire of glory, that self-love, which, when under the direction of reason and justice, has always appeared to me to have something great and noble in it,—self-love, I say, dictated to me, that since, sooner or later, I must necessarily be removed from the ministry, I should risk but little by hastening the moment of my dismission; and that I should gain a great deal by giving a convincing proof that this disgrace would not have happened to me, had I not opposed the unjustifiable measures I saw pursued by the council, and disdained the servile compliance of the rest of the courtiers: there remains to unfortunate virtue this last recompense for the disappointment of its good designs, that it shines with redoubled splendour amidst opposition and persecution.

The queen soon left me only this consolation in the painful labours I began to sustain; all her conduct served to show me that she had only recalled me to Paris, and opposed me to the whole court at this tumultuous time, to reduce me to the fatal alternative of incurring the public contempt if I betrayed my duty, or particular enemies (which was still more to be dreaded) if I discharged it. A demand, which I had rendered of no effect in full council, at the risk of

making myself a thousand cruel and implacable enemies, was afterwards privately granted as a gratuity by this princess and her confidant.

It is not my design to give a detail of all the schemes that, during this short time, were set on foot in the council, nor of what was said or done to render them ineffectual; it would be, in reality, to describe so many suits, where, as in law, they did not fail to make use of all the methods commonly practised to corrupt a judge too rigidly just, and against which I was so much the more incited to exclaim, as they attempted likewise to carry their point either by secret plots or by open cabals. I shall give the reader one example, which will serve to show that the evil was great enough to demand remedies no less violent than those I made use of. The article relating to Villeroy, or rather to D'Alincourt, is not the least curious or important of those which the reader has already had some account of.

When D'Alincourt required that a strong garrison should be placed in the city of Lyons, of which he was governor, and maintained at the king's expense, he had two ends to answer by it; one was, to increase his income by the profits arising from this garrison; for indeed he had occasion for great riches, to enable him to live as he proposed to do, not merely as a marshal of France (a dignity which he expected to be raised to in a very little time) but with the state and retinue of a prince: vain pageantry, and doubly ridiculous in one who had only large possessions to supply the disadvantages of a mean birth. The other was, to compel the Lyonnois, by the terror with which so many forces would inspire them, to sacrifice to him their most ancient rights and privileges, which he had for a long time designed to invade. As for the treaty made for the redemption of the royal domain, which in that province amounted to twelve hundred thousand livres, he was inclined to demand the suppression of it, because those who were concerned in that affair secured to him a present of a hundred thousand livres if he could by any means hinder that redemption from taking place.

His designs, however, were crossed by two vigilant enemies: these were, the whole city of Lyons, and Saint-Chaumont, the king's lieutenant in that province; but to these he opposed the Chancellor Sillery, and Villeroy his father, both

very powerful in the council, and in high favour with the queen; these he set on to solicit for him, and with the more eagerness, because he found by my discourse, when he came to entreat me to be favourable to his pretensions, that he could not depend upon me in the council, before whom these demands were to be laid; he saw plainly that he would have occasion for all his batteries; but he did not doubt of his success when he was informed that his father and Sillery had brought over Conchini to his party, who afterwards prevailed upon the queen to espouse it likewise.

We were all assembled in the great closet, where a council was to be held upon this affair, when the queen came up and spoke to me in favour of D'Alincourt. I told her majesty, with great frankness, that she must not expect I would give my vote for a compliance with two such unjust proposals; that it was not reasonable the king should lose twelve hundred thousand livres to put one hundred thousand in the pocket of M. d'Alincourt; that this was to open the way for every one else to get the like treaties for redemption of the domain and other parts of the royal revenue (which amounted to near fifty millions) revoked over all the kingdom; that I would as strenuously oppose his other demand, although I knew it would be alleged that the council had no right to take cognizance of it, and that it was only laid before it to get the first authorised; that by these measures we were going to expose one of the chief cities of the kingdom, hitherto well affected and loyal, to the danger of violating their allegiance, merely to gratify an unreasonable request, since by the last treaty, which I myself had concluded with Cardinal Aldobrandini for the Duke of Savoy, his majesty being to keep possession of Bresse and of both the borders of the Rhône, Lyons was no longer a frontier city, and having no more neighbours to fear, had no further occasion for a garrison in it.

The queen seemed to be satisfied with these reasons, and turned towards Villeroy, as if to make him approve of them likewise. But he was not so easily repulsed; he gave her reasons in answer to mine, some good and some bad; and when he came to the article of the garrison, he told her that it was indeed true the Spaniards and Savoyards were not such near neighbours of this city as formerly, therefore it

was not against their attempts that it was necessary to secure the city of Lyons, since they were, moreover, upon the point of becoming our friends and allies, but that the true enemies to be feared were the Huguenots, who being now in a better condition, had probably a greater inclination than ever to make an attempt upon that city: he named Lesdiguières in particular as one from whom most danger was to be apprehended.

Berengueville overheard what Villeroy said to the queen, and repeated every word to me: this confirmed to me the truth of what I had heard concerning the secret council held at the house of Ubaldini, the pope's nuncio. I saw with indignation that the sole view of these gentlemen was to set the Catholics and Protestants in France, as well as in all Europe, at variance. I was no less shocked at Villeroy's accusation of a man allied to my family, and rising up hastily, I went towards the queen, who was still listening to him, and told her that I had forgotten to forewarn her of a thing which I was as well assured of as if I had been a witness of it, and this was, that Villeroy, in his design of rendering her favourable to his son's pretensions, cared but little by what means this was brought about, and did not scruple to make the most false and malignant representations against the Protestants, without even excepting one whom a thousand great and good services ought to place out of the reach of suspicion; that his malice went so far as to treat them as enemies whom France had more reason to fear than Spain itself; that if her majesty, judging Villeroy's arguments and mine to be of equal weight, should resolve to view the Protestants and the Spaniards in the same light, nothing remained for her to do (and I looked steadfastly upon him) but to exclude us both from the council. This was a severe stroke upon Villeroy; but this man, who had neither abilities to speak in public, nor knew how to give his vote in the council, had not a single word to say in answer to me; indeed his surprise, and the secret reproaches of his own conscience, might well render him dumb upon this occasion: all he did was to go to that part of the room where the chancellor and the Duke of Epernon were conferring together; and the queen also, quitting her place without answering me, went to join the Count of Soissons and Marshal Brissac, who were

talking in private. I foreboded no good from these several connexions.

Nothing was done this day in D'Alincourt's affair, and I sometimes flattered myself that the measures I had taken would hinder it from being resumed; but it was only put off till his father and himself, the chancellor and his brother, by new cabals with Conchini and the councillors, secured all the votes in their favour, even that of Bethune my brother, who came to me with an intention to make one effort more to soften me. He represented to me that my opposition was in vain, and would have no other consequence but to bring everybody upon my back; that I should have the mortification to see that my example would not be followed even by my nearest relations. I replied, that I never expected anything else from him, but that I was absolutely determined to continue to the end faithful in the performance of my duty: and I kept my word; for in the first council that was held on this occasion, seeing that the councillor to whose charge it fell that day was ready to make his report, I asked him hastily what was the business? He replied, that it related to some proposals which were to be made concerning the domain in Lyonnois. I interrupted him, saying, that I was well assured D'Alincourt, who was most interested in that affair, had formed so strong a party for him in the council, by the mediation of his friends and relations, that it was already resolved on, even before it was laid before it; but that I protested against it, as being absolutely contrary to his majesty's interest; and that I desired a certificate of my protestation from the clerk, to send it to the parliament to be registered there, in order that this writing might one day serve to show the king the bad conduct pursued by his council after the death of the king his predecessor.*

* This account perfectly agrees with what is said in L'Histoire de la Mère et du Fils. "The Duke of Sully," says that history, "continued to exercise his office for a fortnight or three weeks after the coronation was performed, at which time the disputes on account of the Swiss at Lyons, which I have spoken of before, were renewed, because Villeroy wanted to have their pay charged on the general receipts of that city. The Duke of Sully was so much out of temper on this score, that not content with maintaining it was unreasonable to load the king with so great an expense, when the inhabitants of Lyons were sufficient to keep guard themselves, as they had always been used to

These last words, which, it must be granted, were very severe, had no other effect than to suspend for a short time the deliberation they were preparing for. No one replied; a general consternation seized all that were present: the chancellor alone, without showing any emotion, said to the councillor, "Lay other papers before us, and let us proceed to affairs of a different kind; we shall find a time for this when these heats and animosities are over, as it generally happens in things that are most contested." The councillor obeyed; the other matters were discussed; D'Alincourt's demand, when it was next laid before the council, was granted without opposition: but this was not till I myself was

do, he also treated the chancellor, who sided with Villeroy, roughly, telling him they were all agreed amongst themselves to ruin the king's affairs. As this was an affront to all these ministers in common, they joined their endeavours to ruin the duke, the harshness of whose temper was not to be softened." This writer afterwards relates the several steps that were taken to unite the ministers with the Count of Soissons, the Marquis de Ancre, the Marquis de Cœuvres, and others, against the Duke of Sully. As this author is one of the Duke of Sully's enemies, I quote him on purpose to confirm the truth of what the duke says, that he might have kept his posts if he would have joined in the measures of the new council; and that his perseverance in the support of justice, the public interest, and the late king's plan of government, was the cause of his disgrace. All men of sense have not, however, given the same judgment on his inflexibility as the author I am speaking of, though all the enemies of that minister have agreed with him in it. In the appendix to the Merc. Franç. for the year 1610, p. 9, we find an entire discourse on this subject, which justifies him in a manner extremely to his honour. The Mémoires de Villeroy, vol. iii. p. 259, also speak of him in the following manner: "The change which the said Sieur de Sully made in the condition of France, by retrieving her from a state of indigence, and rendering her rich and opulent, by his economy and industry, sufficiently proves his abilities; his free remonstrances to the king, and his opposition to all great men, discover his probity; and his having been able to stand his ground amongst so many enemies, without sinking under his own apprehensions or their threats, shows how great were his prudence and courage; even those who envy him are compelled to own that he alone is more useful to the public, and has more knowledge of business, than all the rest together; and, provided he would abate a little of his austerity, he would be a servant worthy of your majesty. Though they endeavour to keep him from having any concern in the management of affairs, yet they cannot stop him from freely speaking his sentiments of the little respect paid to the memory of the late king, and of the small deference shown to our young prince," &c.

banished from the board; which happened in so short a time afterwards, that it may be said it was by this vigorous effort I finished my career.

I had now no other part to take but to retire from court. I had given sufficient proofs to all France that it was not for want of the most strenuous efforts on my side that the affairs of the State were plunged into disorder: it was become impossible for me to apply any remedy to the increasing evil. This no one doubted of. I struggled to no purpose; and all that I had for the price of my labours and my good intentions, was the hatred of those persons whose interest it would have been to second them: Conchini employed his favour, the princes of the blood their authority, the other persons in office their credit, only to render me odious. I saw nothing preparing for me for the future but new mortifications and other troubles. All my actions, my words, nay, my silence itself, witnessed against persons who were inwardly struck with the injustice of these reproaches. My post of superintendent of the finances was eagerly coveted by two princes of the blood, each of whom was made to hope that he should gain it when I was driven from court. By staying there too long, I exposed myself to the danger of being violently dispossessed of all my other employments. Those of my friends who were most sincere, and best knew the plots that were forming against me, were continually giving me counsels which I was convinced deserved to have more weight with me than the solicitations of some of my relations, who were either carried away by a mistaken tenderness for me, or a regard to their own interest. I therefore resolved to defer no longer the resignation of my two employments of superintendent of the finances and governor of the Bastille, which were the most panted after, as by them they could dispose of the revenues and treasures of the king, hoping to purchase by this sacrifice, which might have still some appearance of being voluntary, the confirmation of all my other dignities,* which it was not in the power of my

* The Duke of Sully at that time bore the following titles: Maximilian de Bethune, knight, duke of Sully, peer of France, sovereign prince of Henrichemont and Boisbelle, marquis of Rosny, count of Dourand, lord of Orval, Montrond, and St. Amand, baron of Espineuil, Bruyères-le-Chastel, Villebon, La Chapelle, Novion, Baugy, and Bontin,

enemies to deprive me of, especially if I took the precaution of removing for ever out of their sight an object which could never fail of reanimating their hatred, by the effect of an unavoidable jealousy, while I continued amongst them; and, that I might do all at once, I fixed myself in a resolution to quit the court, and Paris itself, at the same time that I resigned all further share in the administration of affairs.

I prepared to execute this design in the beginning of the year 1611.* The queen appeared desirous of opposing it;

chancellor to the king in all the councils, captain-lieutenant of two hundred gendarmes under the queen's command, master-general and captain-general of the artillery, surveyor-general of France, superintendent of the king's finances, fortifications, and buildings, governor and the king's lieutenant-general of the provinces of Poitou, Châtellerault, and Laudun, governor of Mantes and Gergeau, and captain of the castle of the Bastille.

* Here follow several accounts of this event, very different from each other: "The year 1611 was begun with the retirement of M. de Sully, who, at the instigation, and by the intrigues of the two princes of the blood, was driven from the management of affairs. The superintendence of the finances and the custody of the king's treasures were taken from him. The queen also took the Bastille out of his hands, and gave the custody thereof to M. de Châteauneuf [it should be Châteauvieux]. The finances were put under the direction of Messieurs de Châteauneuf, the President de Thou, and Jeannin; but the last was also made comptroller-general of the finances, which threw the sole management of them into his hands, to the exclusion of the other two, who assisted only in the direction." (Bassompierre's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 308.) "The 24th of this month (January) M. de Sully quitted the Arsenal. There is a report that a brevet is issued to appoint him Marshal of France, with a grant of some thousands of crowns as a recompense to him. He has voluntarily resigned the direction of the finances, *tanquam è speculo prævidens tempestatem futuram.*" (Journal de l'Etoile, p. 256.) "The Prince of Condé and the Count of Soissons spoke the first of it to the queen, the ministers seconded them, and the Marquis d'Ancre gave him the finishing stroke. Thus he found himself under the necessity of retiring in the beginning of February," &c. (Hist. de la Mère et du Fils, vol. i. p. 235.) "Some have written that the Duke of Sully, shortly after the reconciliation of the Count of Soissons and the Duke of Guise, voluntarily resigned into the queen's hands, as well the Bastille as the superintendency of the finances. Others say, that making an offer to the queen to give up all his posts, he was taken at his word; others have spoken differently of it. He himself says the contrary in the letter he wrote to the queen, which was printed shortly after." (Merc. Franç., anno 1611.) This letter is afterwards recited, but is not mentioned in Sully's Memoirs. The Memoirs of the Regency of Marie de Médicis (vol. i. p. 57) differ also from the foregoing accounts,

but this was only for form's sake. Here follows the letter she wrote to me upon this occasion:

"Cousin,—I hear, with concern, that you have taken a resolution to discharge yourself of the care of the king my

asserting that the Duke of Sully earnestly solicited the queen to dismiss him, which she with great reluctance consented to. There may possibly be some truth in both these opinions: namely, that the Duke of Sully would doubtless have freely consented to keep his posts, provided he could have enjoyed them with the same authority, though not with the same satisfaction, as under the late king; but the efforts he made for that purpose alienated the queen, the great men, and the ministers from him, and at last increased his disgust, as he found all his endeavours would be in vain. There is nothing in Matthieu's account discordant with this notion; on the contrary, he agrees with what is said in these Memoirs. "The Duke of Sully," says he, "after the death of Henry the Great, immediately saw he should not possess the same authority under the new reign as he did under the last; and that the enmity of the Count of Soissons would bring on his ruin. As the direction of the finances had already been taken from him, the queen was advised to deprive him also of the Bastille. This was esteemed so bold a step, that it was said Henry the Great would not have dared to have taken it, for fear of stirring up those of the duke's religion to resent it. She, nevertheless, saw him readily obey her command to resign the Bastille to Châteauvieux, one of her knights of honour. Had he made any opposition, some of the great men at court, who were afraid his steadiness might be drawn into precedent, would have rendered this dismissal more difficult. As soon as he was stripped of this office, he saw the prejudice resulting from his having so easily submitted; and desired the queen's permission to go to Rosny, saying he would not stay there above three days. When he was there, those of his religion cautioned him not to go back to court, where he had been so ill treated. His wife and brother, on the contrary, urged him to return, and he did so accordingly; but those who had been of the opposite opinion withdrew themselves from him, esteeming it a meanness in him not to show a greater resentment for such ill usage. The queen received him favourably; but the Count of Soissons caused him to be kept from having any concern in business which had been so much under his immediate management in the late king's reign. Seeing himself thus fallen both from his credit and employments, he went to Sully; and not thinking himself in safety enough there, he retired into the province of Bourbon." This writer adds, that one of the principal motives which induced the Protestants to endeavour to increase his discontent, was their desire of having his great fortune engaged for the advantage of the common cause; but that he submitted to the prudent advice given him by La Vallée, the lieutenant-general of the artillery, who has been mentioned before, to keep himself quite retired without having any concern in the quarrels which soon after happened. (Ibid. p. 22.)

son's affairs, particularly of those relating to the finances, contrary to the hope I had conceived that you would continue to perform the duties of that employment as you did in the time of the late king my lord. I entreat you to think well of this design before you put it in execution, and let me know your last determination, that I may regulate mine upon it. So beseeching God, &c.

"Paris, Jan. 24, 1611."

My answer to this letter being such as the queen probably expected, she sent Bullion to me two days afterwards with the brevets of discharge from my two employments, of superintendent of the finances and governor of the Bastille, in the most authentic, and, at the same time, most advantageous form, for me. Her majesty in these brevets declared that it was at my repeated solicitation she had granted me leave to resign these places; and that I should not hereafter, upon any pretence whatever, be questioned concerning my conduct while I held them.

To these brevets was added another, dated January 27th, by which her majesty, in consideration of the services the late king had received from me during a long course of years, and of which she made a most honourable mention, granted me a donation of three hundred thousand livres, to be paid out of the royal treasury, free from the duty of the fifth and tenth penny, and the duty given to the Order of the Holy Ghost, from which his majesty was desirous I should be exempted. The letters I received the following days from their majesties either contained orders to give up the castle of the Bastille to the Sieur de Châteauvieux, whom they had made king's lieutenant of it, or acquittals for some jewels of the crown which I had delivered back into their hands, part of which consisted of a jewel called the *licorne*, and some other rings and jewels, for which a promissory note of mine for ten thousand livres was lodged with Puget, who now returned it to me, and part of three large rubies, for which I had given my receipt to Madame le Grand, when I took them out of her hands, where they were mortgaged.

I employed the remainder of the time I stayed in Paris in regulating my domestic affairs, in a detail of which the reader would find nothing to merit his attention, except probably

the counsels I gave to my secretaries. I had generally six principal ones, as well for the business of my four chief offices of the crown, as for any extraordinary affairs I might have to transact with the court, and I found it necessary to have a great many other clerks or transcribers under them: but those I shall mention here were my chief secretaries, whose abilities and exact discharge of their several duties well deserved that I should give them a share in affairs of importance, and my confidence in nice and delicate conjunctures; among these, the four brothers of the name of Arnaud were favoured in a particular manner by me. The eldest died while he was yet young, many years before the king was assassinated. I had so great a regard for the second, that, from being my secretary only, I procured him to be made councillor of state and intendant of the finances; the third went into the army, and was made a colonel of a regiment of horse; and to the last I gave the post of treasurer of France, and that of overseer of the highways. All my other secretaries were provided for in proportion. I believe I shall not be accused of having broken one of the laws of nature, which directs that the adherents to us, or, perhaps, we might say more properly, to our places, should not be disappointed of those rewards which it is in our power to bestow upon them according to their merit. Duret was preferred to be a treasurer of France, president of the chamber of accounts, and comptroller-general of the finances; Renouard was made auditor of accounts; La Clavelle, overseer of the bridges and causeways; Du Maurier, who had quitted the Duke of Bouillon's service for mine, was employed in public affairs, to which his genius and inclination led him, and has been since ambassador to Holland; Murat was made treasurer of the extraordinary of wars; La Fond, whom I have often mentioned in these Memoirs, acquired the favour and confidence of the late king, who, among other benefits that he bestowed upon him, made him overseer of his furniture; Gillot was made secretary of the ordnance. All these men were truly sensible how much they were going to lose by my retreat, and they omitted no sort of entreaties or methods to prevail upon me to alter my resolution. I will do most of them the justice to declare, that I believe, by acting thus, they thought they were serving my interest at least as much as their own: but as for the two

Arnauds, the eldest especially, and two or three others, they were but little affected with my purpose. They would even have been grieved if I had altered my opinion; yet it was they who opposed it most. Arnaud the elder added, on this occasion, hypocrisy to avarice and ingratitude: meanly as he thought of Jeannin's abilities for the office of superintendent of the finances, for which he looked upon himself as much better qualified, he was one of those who solicited Conchini most earnestly to procure it for that minister, who, he flattered himself, would leave the chief management of it to him.

I penetrated into the inmost recesses of their hearts: I discovered views and designs which they probably imagined were sufficiently concealed; but I suppressed a resentment unworthy of me; and, taking them aside one after the other, I gave them such advice as, from the present conjuncture of the times, and the knowledge I had of their dispositions, was most likely to advance their fortunes. I told the elder Arnaud that he had it in his power to make his court very successfully to the queen, by the great number of excellent memoirs upon the most important affairs of the finances which were lodged in his hands; and, that this sacrifice might lose no part of its merit, I advised him to offer it by Madame de Conchini, seriously recommending it to him, at the same time, to devote himself faithfully to her service: I advised his brother to use his utmost endeavours to obtain the favour of the chancellor, of Villeroy, Jeannin, and, above all, of Conchini, who was the only oracle which it was necessary for him to consult in the exercise of his employment; and I desired the colonel himself to make his court to those very persons.

Duret, besides all those, might apply himself to the commander* and to Dollé; and this I recommended him to do. Du Maurier was scarcely known to any but Villeroy. By carefully cultivating his friendship, which I assured him would be sufficient, and with the knowledge he had of foreign affairs, joined to the talents he possessed of speaking well, and of writing still better, he might easily obtain of the queen and the favourite some honourable employment. To Murat, who was accountable for his conduct to the secretary of state, I recommended my interests at court; but to discharge this

* Noel de Sillery, brother to the chancellor.

trust cautiously, and not without first asking Villeroy's consent. As for La Clavelle, his subtle wit, and proneness to flattery, secured him all possible success with the ministers, and even with D'Escures, who had more power than anybody else to block up his way in the discharge of his office. La Fond's employment subjecting him wholly to the queen's will, or rather to Conchini's, he had but one path to follow, which I pointed out to him. The advice I gave to Renouard was not to seek any other recommendation from his own court, except the importance which the force of his understanding might give him amongst his associates; and I desired he would add to this employment that of taking care of my domestic affairs at Paris. Gillot I placed with my son, to superintend the affairs of the ordnance; and, that everything might be kept in the same order in which I had left it, I gave to my inferior secretaries and clerks such advice as I thought most suitable to their humbler station, and obliged those who showed most reluctance to comply with my measures, to confess, at length, that, in what I had recommended to them, I had a particular view to that necessity which sooner or later would force them to follow the rules I had prescribed. This I accompanied with a compliment to each, and an obliging command to follow my directions, which had such an appearance of sincerity, that they yielded to my arguments; and they have not repented. I intended, however, to keep no more secretaries in my service; for, being now out of place myself, I had no occasion for men that were in, for this employment. I therefore took two new secretaries into my family, whose chief business, in a cabinet no longer occupied with the affairs of state, was collecting and preparing these Memoirs for the public.

This done, and burying in eternal oblivion those hopes, desires, resentments, and regrets, which any other in my situation might have formed, I bid a lasting adieu to the court, and with the same indifference as if it had not for so long a course of years been to me the theatre of glory, wealth, and happiness.* I lost at one stroke a king who was

* "On Saturday, the 5th of February, the Duke of Sully left Paris, after returning the grant he had received of 100,000 crowns. The Duchess of Sully blamed his haughtiness and pride in doing so." (L'Etoile, ibid. p. 257.)

my benefactor and my support, and with him my fortune, my friends, and my favour. This loss generally brings along with it so many other mortifications, that, to those who have suffered it, it appears but the least part of their unhappiness. If this additional ill-fortune is always the effect of particular enmities, certainly no one was more exposed to them than myself; yet history can furnish but few examples of ministers and favourites in disgrace who were as much honoured and respected in their fall as I was; for it sometimes happens that public esteem succeeds to private favour in supporting those who are unfortunate only, and when it does not form a counterpoise strong enough to incline the balance to their side, it is because these supposed oppressed persons have always some weak place by which they may be attacked, and which they find it very difficult to defend. Acknowledged probity and innocence will always have the advantage over envy, even at the very time when she seems most to triumph. My enemies, therefore (for I have a right to apply this maxim to myself), could satisfy but a small part of their rage against me, because the victory they had gained was one of those shameful advantages which it is thought necessary to conceal, and which is not enjoyed wholly without remorse; nor did the satisfaction my enemies felt for my disgrace hinder some true Frenchmen, who eagerly embraced every occasion of showing their respect for the memory of the late king, from honouring a man who expected no more than to set out on his exile in privacy and peace. I was attended on my leaving Paris by more than three hundred horse.

It was not while I was present, and in a condition to defend myself, that I expected to see my enemies use their utmost efforts against me: envy is a passion whose characteristic is cowardice, no less than malice and detraction: I was always persuaded that they would seize eagerly the advantages my absence afforded them. In effect, a few days were scarce elapsed after my arrival at Sully, when the whole court was filled with reports which tended not only to give a bad impression of my conduct in public affairs, but also to render me sufficiently suspected to afford them some pretence for commencing a prosecution against me, the shame and grief of which was all they desired I should suffer.* On this oc-

* "He had no sooner retired," says the Histoire de la Mère et du

casion I took such measures as I thought every wise man ought to take, which was to disarm envy the most effectual way, by preventing, with frequent letters, the minds of their majesties from being prejudiced to my disadvantage.

In the first letter, which I addressed to the king and queen, I complained that bad designs were formed against me: I offered to justify my conduct by every method they could propose, and even, if necessary, by new services: and, after giving their majesties the strongest assurances of obedience, fidelity, and innocence, I represented to them with some freedom, that if they had been as well persuaded of that innocence as they had given me room to believe, I should have received proofs of it ere now, by the orders they would have been pleased to give for the performances of the several promises they had made me with respect to my places, and to the gratuities which the king had granted me: that the first artifice practised by my enemies had been to defer, and afterwards to hinder, if they could, the effect of those promises, which, being so many proofs of their majesties' good opinion of me, while they subsisted, it was dangerous to attempt anything against me; and it was for this reason that I was so solicitous for their being accomplished.

To this letter I received an answer from the queen such as I could have wished: she observed in it, that my past services, and my present inclinations, were so well known to the king and to her, that it was not in the power of any person whatever to alter their sentiments with respect to me: that hitherto she had not perceived it had been attempted; but, if it should, it would be to no purpose: she assured me it was not owing to any ill-will towards me, but to chance alone, that some little difficulties had been found in performing the agreements between his majesty and myself; but that they should be observed with the utmost exactness. This letter is dated March 7, 1611.

It was not long before I sent the queen another letter, of which I cannot dispense with myself from giving the reader

Fils, p. 128, "but many prepared to pursue the victory over him, in order to come in for a share of his spoils. But the queen at last, with great reason, changed her measures, it not being held reasonable to treat with ill usage a person whose services had been so advantageous to France, without any other pretext than that, by his having been useful to the public, he had at the same time been so to himself."

some account, because what I there declared concerning the state of my private affairs was exactly conformable to the situation I found myself in upon my retiring from public business. I began with recalling to her remembrance the open profession I had always made of attachment to her person, and the proofs I had given of it, as well before as since her marriage; and here I mentioned certain particular circumstances, when I drew upon myself some reproaches from the late king for supporting her against him on occasions when I thought I was labouring equally for both their interests. This led me to an eulogium on the good qualities of the queen regent, on which I founded the opinion I was, in this letter, to appear to have entertained, that she had no part in the persecutions raised against me at court.

This article I treated at great length, it being that for which the letter was chiefly written. I gave the queen to understand that I was well informed of the disadvantageous reports which were spread against me at court; of the obstacles my enemies were incessantly raising to hinder me from settling peaceably my private affairs; and, in a word, of the perquisites which their majesties proposed to allow me in the offices, of which I could not be deprived. I assumed a right, from the good intentions which I supposed this princess had towards me, founded upon the repeated assurances she had given me of her esteem, to complain to her of those persons who rendered these intentions ineffectual. I insisted particularly upon the favour and protection I had reason to expect from their majesties while I was making that disposition of my affairs to which, for the sake of peace, I had sacrificed my interest, when it would have been so much the easier to have disputed the ground with my adversaries, as the motives by which they acted being almost generally known, I had every advantage over them which I could desire. I here laid down concisely the principal points of my management, and my share of that wealth with which, by my labours and economy, I had enriched the kingdom till the year 1610, when I saw all the measures I had taken to keep everything in the same state of order and regularity at once overturned and destroyed; adding, that time would show whether the kingdom owed most obligations to my enemies or to me.

I took this opportunity to obviate some of their most specious accusations: I represented to the queen the great folly and absurdity they were guilty of in exclaiming against me for the vast riches they said I had acquired during the course of my favour with the late king, when, in their hearts, they despised me for not making greater advantages of so fair an opportunity, and were fully resolved not to follow my example. The narrow bounds of a letter would not permit me to say all I could in my own justification: I only observed to the queen, that it was easy for me to prove that I had acquired that wealth, which they imputed to me as a crime, either by frugality and economy, or by the bounty of a master too generous and too grateful to leave a minister unrewarded who devoted himself with an assiduity, rarely seen in a superintendent, to continual labours for the public good;* that it was sufficient for me that all the gratuities I had received from my master only, which he laid his commands upon me to accept; and this I could prove as clearly as the use to which I had applied them, which was more, I believed, than those who were going to succeed me would be able to say at the close of their administration. I told the queen that I hoped I should not be charged either with vanity or malice, if I affirmed that the wrong they were now attempting to do me was a real injury to the State: that I never desired to be continued in the direction of the finances, but for the king's advantage; and that having their majesties for judges of my actions, upon whose equity and goodness I relied to hinder my enemies from commencing a prosecution against me, the privacy I was going to enjoy would no longer appear dangerous to me; but, on the contrary, I should find it so much the more pleasing, as it began now to be suitable to my age, and would be interrupted with no reproaches, nor embittered by any remorse.

* He retired loaded with riches, which the time he had been in the ministry had enabled him to acquire. It may be said with great truth that the first years of his administration were very profitable to him; and if any should say the last were no less so, it must be allowed that, if they were advantageous to him, they were greatly so to the public." (Hist. de la Mère et du Fils, p. 128.) One single proof from an enemy, such as the author of this history, will counterbalance a thousand others.

Towards the close of this letter, through which I had occasionally interspersed many offers of service, assurances of fidelity, and all those expressions of respect and obedience which I thought I owed to the queen, I told her, that before I set out for my government, whither my affairs called me, I would give her notice of it, and receive her orders; and if she thought I could be of any use to her in the assembly of the Protestants, to which I was summoned, I would go thither with the same disposition and readiness to serve her as the late king my master. Such was the purport of this long letter, which the queen answered by another, dated April 24. It was conceived almost in the same terms as her former letter: she left me at liberty to go to Poitou, or to the assembly of the Protestants, and to act there as I should judge proper, knowing better than any other (those were her words) how I could be most useful to the king in either of those places.

But what completely secured me against all reverses of fortune was, that her majesty being desirous to give a public proof of her esteem for me, and how little it was in the power of my enemies to hurt me, granted me an augmentation of my pension, for which the brevet was expedited in less than a month after the date of her last letter. This augmentation was twenty-four thousand livres; so that altogether my pensions at that time amounted to forty-eight thousand four hundred livres a year. It was expressed in the brevet that this additional pension commenced on the 1st of January, 1611, although it was dated the 20th of May; and that her majesty thought herself under an obligation to grant it to me, as well in acknowledgment for my past services, of which the most honourable mention was made, as to enable me to continue them for the future.

Notwithstanding this, I do not think myself dispensed with from proving that article of the foregoing letter which regards my wealth. A superintendent of the finances, and any man to whom the management of the treasures of the kingdom has been entrusted, is accountable to the public for all his actions; nor would I refuse, if called upon, to lay before it my most secret thoughts, since it has been always my study to regulate them in such a manner, that they would, if known, not only subject me to no censure, for this

is an indispensable obligation upon all men, but also that they might in some respect seem worthy to serve for a model to those who, succeeding to my place, would have the same engagements to fulfil. Happy if I could have reason to hope that this model would be effaced with one more perfect. I shall continue, therefore, to give the public such an exact statement of my domestic affairs, following the method I began a few pages above, that any other person may be as well acquainted with them as I am myself. To spare my readers the trouble of collecting together at too great a distance the articles of a broken calculation, and that they may view the whole at one single glance, I shall here lay before them all that has been said on that subject in different parts of these Memoirs, beginning with a faithful account of my whole yearly revenue, according to the order of time when I was invested with those offices, from whence the greatest part of it arose.*

I was, in the first place, while Henry the Great was yet but King of Navarre, preferred to the post of first gentleman of his bedchamber, together with that of councillor of Navarre; the salaries of both amounted to two thousand livres a year. When he became King of France, he made me councillor of state, for which I had a like allowance, which, with a pension of three thousand six hundred livres, increased my income by the yearly sum of five thousand six hundred livres. My company of men-at-arms brought me in four thousand livres a year. The king giving me afterwards two brevets, one for councillor of parliament, without salary, and the other for councillor of the finances, three thousand six hundred livres were on this occasion added to my pensions.

* The following memoir is an unanswerable refutation of a reflection cast on the Duke of Sully by the Histoire de la Mère et du Fils, p. 130, and expressed in these words: "In fine, if during his administration, he had managed the king's affairs well, he had not forgotten to take care of his own. This appeared more evidently from his having come into office with only six thousand livres a year, and going out with more than a hundred and fifty thousand livres, which had obliged him to withdraw out of the exchequer the rent-roll and inventory of his estate and effects, which had been registered there, when he came into the management of the finances, that it might not appear against him, under his own hand and seal, how much he had enriched himself out of the king's money."

His majesty having thought proper to fix the gratuities, pensions, gifts, &c., which he designed to bestow upon me as superintendent of the finances, to a certain sum, which should be all comprehended in one article, this sum, which amounted to twenty thousand crowns, increased my revenue by ten thousand eight hundred livres a year more: add to this the produce of all my other dignities and employments; the office of surveyor-general of the roads of France, and surveyor in particular of the Isle of France, brought me in ten thousand livres a year; that of master-general of the ordnance, comprehending the salary, profits, and pensions annexed to it, twenty-four thousand livres. I always placed under one article the sums arising from the government of Poitou, the superintendence of the buildings, that of the fortifications, ports, &c., which altogether amounted to eighteen thousand livres a year. The government of Mantes and Gergeau brought me in twelve thousand livres; the queen's company of gendarmes, of which I was captain-lieutenant, five thousand livres; and the government of the Bastille two thousand two hundred livres a year. All these articles put together make up the sum of ninety-seven thousand two hundred livres a year.

Each of these articles have been already mentioned in different parts of these Memoirs. What remains to be added to them are as follows: Forty-five thousand livres in church benefices, which his holiness was so well satisfied that I should enjoy under the borrowed name of some ecclesiastics, that he generally expedited the bulls gratis when he was told that the abbeys were for me. I lost no part of this income when it was decreed that the ecclesiastics should withdraw all their benefices out of the hands of the Protestants, because, by the pope's bulls, in which this regulation was expressed, the ecclesiastics on whom they were bestowed were to give the full value of them to the first possessor. My own lands and possessions compose a second article, which, I believe, I estimate justly by making them amount to sixty thousand livres a year. These two last sums, added to that of ninety-seven thousand two hundred livres, make a total of two hundred and two thousand two hundred livres a year.

I shall anticipate the explanation which may be demanded

of me with respect to the article of twenty thousand crowns in lands; and, in the first place, I desire it may be remembered that there was a kind of agreement made between the king and myself in the year 1601, by which that prince, who did not think my labours in his service sufficiently rewarded by my ordinary gratuities and pensions, and who likewise was apprehensive as well as I that those sums which his generosity led him to give me in extraordinary presents and gratuities would produce bad consequences hereafter, by that appearance of profusion they might have, again settled his gifts and gratuities in a new sum of sixty thousand livres a year, which was to include all that I was to expect merely from his bounty. This donation was expedited by letters patent, that, being known to the whole kingdom, I might not be one day subjected to any dishonourable imputation on account of it. I enjoyed this extraordinary gratuity for eight years, which produced me the sum of four hundred and twenty-four thousand livres, which I laid out, according to the king's desire, in making acquisitions in proportion. I made the same use of the sum of five hundred and thirty thousand livres arising from the following articles: from money which I have received, but which is subject to be repaid on the marriage of my son, two hundred thousand livres; a hundred thousand livres which I received with my wife; a hundred thousand paid me by La Borde; as much by M. Schomberg; and thirty thousand which his majesty gave me for my son D'Orval.* These sums, I say, which,

* Francis de Bethune, the founder of the branch of the Counts d'Orval, was knight of the king's orders, master of the horse to the queen, surveyor-general of France, superintendent of the royal buildings, governor of St. Maixant, camp-master of the regiment of Picardy, lieutenant-general of the king's armies. After the death of Cæsar de Bethune, his brother of the whole blood, who died unmarried, the estates and lordships which the Duke of Sully their father had settled upon the children of his second marriage (as we shall relate hereafter) became united in him. They were erected into a duchy and peerage, under the title of De Bethune, which was done in consideration of his signal services to the crown, and particularly in having raised, at his own expense, a considerable body of forces, both foot and horse, at a time when the king stood in great need of them to carry on the war in which he was then engaged, with the Spaniards, Duke Charles of Lorraine, the Prince of Condé, and others of his rebellious subjects. It is in these terms the letters patent for this purpose are expressed, which

added to the above, make one million and ten thousand livres, I laid out in the following manner:

I purchased one-half of the estate of Rosny with two hundred and ten thousand livres. The estate of Dourdan, which I bought of Sancy, who held it of the Swiss cantons, cost me, beside the money he owed me, one hundred thousand livres. I had the lands of Sully from the Duke de la Trémouille for a hundred and fifty thousand livres; and Villebon, by an ordinance, for one hundred thousand. The three contracts I made with the Duke of Nevers amounted to two hundred and ten thousand livres: namely, for Montrond a hundred thousand; La Chapelle fifty-six thousand; and for Henrichemont fifty-four thousand. I bought the estate of Châtelet of the Duke of Montpensier for sixty thousand livres; that of Culand, by an ordinance, for eight thousand; and Des Is, in Beauce, for seventy-five thousand livres. The whole of these purchases, which amount to eleven hundred and ninety thousand livres, exceeding, as appears, that of the two sums received above by a hundred and nine thousand livres, this sum will be found charged in the articles of receipt, which are placed after; for I am desirous of giving the reader full satisfaction, by carrying this detail even further than he has a right to expect; and for this purpose I must step a little aside from the subject I am treating of, and give an account of the several sums I received after the death of Henry the Great, as an equivalent for my charges, in gratuities from the young king, &c., even to the time that I resolved to dispose of almost all the employments with which I had been invested.

The three hundred thousand livres which his majesty granted me by letters patent, were at once a gift from this prince, and a kind of recompense for the superintendence of the finances and government of the Bastille, which I resigned into his hands. He gave me sixty thousand livres for my company of gendarmes, for which I had refused two

are dated at Melun in the month of June, 1652. The duchy of Sully devolved on this branch of the family, in 1730, on the death of Maximilian, the fifth Duke of Sully, in the person of Louis Peter Maximilian de Bethune, grandson of this Francis Count d'Orval, to whom it was adjudged by the council of state, he paying the value of it to the Abbé Armand de Bethune, his great-uncle, afterwards Count d'Orval.

hundred thousand. I agreed with Fourcy to resign to him the superintendence of the buildings for fifty thousand livres, which was the price set upon it by his majesty: I refused to take more. I was offered three hundred thousand livres for the government of Poitou, which I yielded to Rohan, who obtained the king's consent that he should purchase it for two hundred thousand. I lost in the same manner one hundred thousand livres upon the offices of surveyor-general of the roads, and hereditary master of the canals and navigation of rivers. The treasurer of France paid me only a hundred and fifty thousand for them. His majesty likewise caused me to be paid again the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand livres for the estate of Dourdan, and I agreed with the Prince of Condé to give him back the lands of Villebon for a hundred and fifty thousand livres, which he has since paid me. I destined these two last sums for the portion of my youngest daughter, for whom it was more difficult to procure an establishment than her eldest sister. To these sums I add those which arose from the sale of my benefices; for I thought it was equally allowable for me to take money for them, as for the ecclesiastics, by whom they were purchased, to give it me, or for the pope to permit it, as he did, by his bulls. I therefore took, without making any scruples, an allowance of eighty thousand livres of an abbé who was recommended to me by the Prince of Condé, for my abbey of Coulon. Bethune, who, as well as his son, was the most scrupulous Roman Catholic I ever knew, purchased, under the sanction of these bulls, the abbey of Jard of me for forty thousand livres; an abbé, a friend of the Duke of Rohan, bought that of L'Or at Poictiers of me for seventy thousand; and L'Argentier Vaucemain, or rather his son, that of L'Absie, for fifty thousand livres. All these sums together make a total of thirteen hundred thousand livres. Let us now see to what use it was applied.

I bought of M. de Lavardin the estate of Montricoux, and that of Caussade from the Sieur Palliers, both for a hundred and sixty thousand livres. My youngest daughter* having, on account of some personal disadvantages, as I observed be-

* Louisa de Bethune. She was married on the 29th of May, 1620, to Alexander de Lévis, Marquis of Mirepoix.

fore, occasion for a larger portion than her sister, to marry her suitable to her birth, I gave with her to M. de Mirepoix four hundred and fifty thousand livres in specie; the other expenses of this marriage in jewels, furniture, &c., formed an article of fifty thousand livres more, which in all makes up the sum of five hundred thousand livres. I shall only slightly observe here, that such distinguishing proofs of paternal tenderness were repaid both by my daughter and her husband with the most striking instances of ingratitude. I lent to several cities, and to that of Rochelle in particular, more than two hundred and fifty thousand livres, which, by the siege and reduction of this city, and the wars raised against the Protestants, I have almost wholly lost. The money I lent at different times to the Marquis of Rosny, and the debts I paid for him, amount at least to three hundred thousand livres; the yearly incomes which came to me from Languedoc and Guienne, by the purchase I made of certain registries and rents there, cost me four hundred thousand livres; and the house I bought in Paris two hundred and twenty thousand livres. By calculating my accounts of the money I laid out in buildings and other works, in furniture, in journeys, and other expenses of that kind, I find a capital of seven hundred thousand livres. The sum total of all these several articles amounts to two millions five hundred and thirty thousand livres, which makes it superior to the total of receipt, which precedes it, by twelve hundred and thirty thousand livres.

The reader may have observed from the beginning of these Memoirs, that my application to my domestic economy extended itself to things which it might be naturally expected would have been excepted from it; I mean in the military profits, arising either from prisoners I had taken, from ransoms, or at the sacking of towns taken by assault, and on other occasions of the same kind, which it is not necessary to give a minute account of here. When the peace of Vervins was concluded, I found that these profits, which when considered separately appear so slight that they scarcely deserve to be mentioned, yet made a total of one hundred thousand livres, or thereabouts. The war of Savoy, which broke out afterwards, was worth as much more to me in cannon, arms,

ammunition, &c., taken from the enemy, of which I had a large portion as master-general of the ordnance. Of all this I make an article of three hundred thousand livres. By calculating the value of all those presents that were made me on different occasions, I found the whole amount to a sum nearly equal to the former. It must be observed, that I mean only such presents as I received in the character of a public person, and in occurrences when it would not have been decent for me to have refused them, as in my embassies and negotiations; upon the king's marriage, from the queen, and the grand duke; on the marriage of the Princess Catherine with the Duke of Lorraine; on every New Year's-day from their majesties and Queen Margaret. It would have been a ridiculous affectation to show myself as scrupulously nice about these presents and others of the same nature as I did when they were offered to me with interested views. However, I would not receive anything in this manner without its being expressed in a brevet, which I entreated his majesty to grant me for each of these gifts, which though in jewels and trinkets, composed a sum of one hundred thousand crowns. I sold again the lands of Dourdan for a hundred and fifty thousand livres, before my gratuities were settled of twenty thousand crowns, as I have already mentioned, and which did not happen till the year 1601. The late king, listening only to the dictates of his own generous mind, and to the friendship with which he honoured me, obliged me to accept many other donations which have not been particularised here, and which, I believe, do not amount to less than two hundred thousand livres. Lastly, since my income was become so considerable as the reader has seen, it is not surprising that by strictly observing a maxim which from my earliest years I had laid down as absolutely necessary for the advantage of my domestic affairs, namely, that one ought never to spend the whole extent of one's income, I should at the end of a certain number of years have laid by a very considerable sum. If we suppose this sum to amount to three hundred and fifty thousand livres, and add it to the four former ones, we shall find that it will, within a very little matter, make up the twelve hundred thousand livres which are wanting to produce a perfect equality between the receipt and expense. I think it unnecessary to repeat here

what I have formerly said with respect to the current expenses of my house.

What I am going to relate concerning my transactions with the Prince of Condé may appear as a matter of mere curiosity only; but I was not willing to omit it, as it has some connexion with the subject I am on at present. When the war broke out against the Protestants under the new reign, the Prince of Condé, being solicitous to remove me from his governments, where I had several very fine estates, and some strong castles, proposed to me to sell them all to him. I was apprehensive that, if I refused to comply with this proposal, the war would furnish him with pretences to drive me from thence, which force would have rendered valid. I was sensible that his counsels had not a little contributed to that resolution they had lately taken against us, and I was forewarned that he was meditating something worse with regard to me. I therefore agreed with him for the lands of Villebon, Montrond, Orval, Culand, and Le Châtelet, and with the greater willingness, as he offered me more than they had cost me, and, indeed, more than they were worth. Accordingly, a contract was signed by us both, in which the Prince of Condé obliged himself to give me twelve hundred thousand livres for those estates; he did not pay me the money down, indeed, but I readily consented to wait till it suited his own convenience.

However, I did not expect that at the expiration of a certain time, this prince would find out an easy method of discharging at once both the principal and interest, by demanding of the king that my estates should be confiscated, a practice which the war then made very common. His majesty was so good as to remember me on this occasion, and rejected with a kind of horror so infamous a request. When the peace was concluded, the prince found himself obliged to come to an account with me. His inclination for the estate of Baugy increasing, there was a necessity for yielding him that likewise as well as all the others, in order that I might not on any side be his neighbour. He took a dislike to the lands of Villebon, which, together with those of Muret, he restored to me as an equivalent for the estate which he so eagerly coveted. The exchange was not disadvantageous to me. This method of paying me being most con-

venient for this prince, he made over to me, one after the other, the lands of Nogent, Montigny, Chanrond, Vitrai, the marquisate of Conty, Breteuil, Francatel, and La Falaise, invested with the same rights as the lands that I had exchanged, the principal of which, in my eyes, was the liberty of calling them, according to the king's patent, a possession which I held by the liberality and the immediate grant of the king my master.* Thus I got out of the dispute with

* Amongst the papers containing the proofs of what M. de Sully here relates of his disputes with the Prince of Condé, which the present Duke of Sully has done me the honour to communicate to me, I find two letters, which it may not be improper to insert here; one is from the Prince of Condé to the first Duke of Sully, the other from the Prince of Conty to the Marquis of Bethune (Maximilian Alpinus), grandfather of the Duke of Sully now living.

LETTER FROM THE PRINCE OF CONDÉ TO THE DUKE OF SULLY.

"Sir,—I hope to have the honour of seeing you soon; the bearer hereof will inform you from whence this comes, and explain the contents of it to you. You will find, from my actions, how much I have at heart the king's service, the public good, and your friendship in particular, which I passionately covet. I beg you will assuredly rely on the truth of these professions. I am preparing, in performance of our mutual engagements, to conclude our bargain for Villebon, and will let you know (begging you will meet me for that purpose) in what place I can have the honour of conversing with you.—I am, Monsieur, your cousin, and most humble servant,

"Henry de Bourbon."

LETTER FROM THE PRINCE OF CONTY TO THE MARQUIS OF BETHUNE.

"Sir,—I am extremely pressed by the Count d'Orval to consent to the agreement he is desirous of making with the Viscount of Meaux for the estate of Chanrond: and he even offers to give me security to indemnify me against the warranty my late father entered into. I would not, however, make him any promise, after having engaged to your mother-in-law not to do anything in this affair without acquainting you with it; and, as it is for the benefit of all parties that this matter should be settled, and made an end of as soon as possible, I am willing to refer my pretensions to the judgment of the Count of Bethune, your kinsman, and beg you will do so too, and submit to what he shall direct. The Count d'Orval and the Viscount of Meaux are content to submit their claims to him, and abide by his determination. I make no doubt of your consenting to this proposal, as otherwise I shall be obliged to do what is desired of me, and accept of the proposed security. I earnestly beseech you not to make any difficulty of coming into this agreement.—In the mean time, I am your most affectionate servant,

"Armand de Bourbon.

"Toulouse, October 19, 1656."

the prince, who, it must be confessed, was guilty of a double injustice in endeavouring to get possession of my estates by procuring them to be confiscated.

I have been a witness of very miserable times since the death of the king my master. The war which I saw kindled against the Protestants filled me with grief; I was incited by a thousand different motives to take part in it, but I courageously resisted this snare; I never gave the king the least reason to look upon me as a rebel, or an abettor of rebels. I have punctually obeyed all his majesty's commands; am always ready to present myself at court whenever he is pleased to require it; in a word, I have had the good fortune to continue as faithful in the performance of those promises I made to the king my benefactor, as in that of the duties of a good citizen.

# BOOK XXX.

## DISCUSSION OF THE POLITICAL SCHEME COMMONLY CALLED THE GREAT DESIGN OF HENRY IV.

Preliminary considerations upon the Roman Empire, the establishment of the French monarchy, the different governments of the three races of our kings, &c.—The possibility of the great design proved—Henry with difficulty makes Sully approve of it—In what manner Elizabeth and this prince formed it—Favourable and unfavourable events—The advantage of this scheme to all Europe—That part of the political scheme which regards religion, consisting in peaceably maintaining the religions received in Europe, and in driving the infidels from thence—The political part, which consists in establishing fifteen equal monarchies, in reducing the power of the house of Austria, and dividing what it should be deprived of among the princes and republics of Europe—Means of indemnifying himself, and of proving the equity of his proceedings—The moderation and disinterestedness of France in this division—Establishment of a general council of the Christian republics—Negotiations and other means employed to induce the princes and states of Europe to engage in the great design—Account of the forces, and the expenses necessary for the execution of it—The march and disposition of the armies of the confederate princes—The probable result of it.

As this part of these Memoirs will be entirely taken up with an account of the great design of Henry IV., or the political scheme by which he proposed to govern, not only France, but all Europe, it may not be improper to begin it with some more general reflections on this monarchy, and on the Roman Empire, upon whose ruins we know it has been formed, as well as all the other powers which at this day compose the Christian world.

If we consider all those successive changes which Rome has suffered from the year of the world 3064, which is that of its foundation,* its infancy, youth, and virility, its declen-

* The opinion now most generally received is that of Varro, who places the time of the foundation of Rome nearly two hundred years later.

sion, fall, and final ruin; those vicissitudes, which it experienced in common with the great monarchies by which it was preceded, would almost incline one to believe that empires, like all other sublunary things, are subject to be the sport, and at last to sink under the pressure, of time. And if we extend this idea still further, we shall, perhaps, perceive that they are all liable to be disturbed or interrupted in their courses by certain extraordinary incidents, which, for anything that we can discover to the contrary, may be termed epidemical distempers, that very frequently hasten their destruction; and their cure by this discovery becoming easier, we may at least save some of them from those catastrophes which are so fatal to them.

But if we endeavour to discover more visible and natural causes of the ruin of this vast and formidable empire, we shall perhaps soon perceive they were produced by a deviation from those wise laws and that simplicity of manners, which were the original of all its grandeur, into luxury, avarice, and ambition; yet there was, finally, another cause, the effect of which could hardly have been prevented or foreseen by the utmost human wisdom; I mean the irruptions of those vast bodies of barbarous people, Goths, Vandals, Huns, Herulians, Rugians, Lombards, &c., from whom, both separately and united, the Roman Empire received such violent shocks that it was at last overthrown by them. Rome was three times sacked by these barbarians; in 414, under Honorius, by Alaric, chief of the Goths; in 455, by Genseric, king of the Vandals, under Martian; and in 546, under Justinian, by Totila and the Goths.* Now, if it be true that after this the city retained the shadow of what she had been, if we must regard her as divested of the empire of the world, when her weakness and the abuses of her government made this event to be looked upon, not simply as inevitable, but as very near, and, in fact, already arrived, the epocha of her fall may then be marked long before the reign of Valentinian III., to whom it will be doing a favour to call

* These three epochas are not quite just: the first was in 410, instead of 414; the second in 455 or 456; and the third in 524, under Tegas, successor of Totila, and the last king of the Goths; the sacking the city this last time lasted forty days.

the last emperor of the West;* for several of those emperors whom he succeeded were, in reality, no better than tyrants, by whom the empire was torn and divided, and the shattered remnants left to be the spoil of the barbarians, who, indeed, by their conquests, acquired an equal right to them.

Rome, nevertheless, still beheld, at intervals, some faint appearances of a revival; those of which she was most sensible were under the reign of the great Constantine, whose victories once more united this vast body under one head; but when he transported the seat of his empire from Rome to Constantinople, he, by that step, without being sensible of it, contributed more to the destruction of a work which had cost him so much labour than all the ill conduct of his predecessors had been able to effect; and this even he rendered irremediable, by dividing his empire equally between his three sons. Theodosius, who, by good fortune, or from an effect of his great valour, found himself in the same circumstances with Constantine, would not, perhaps, have committed the same fault had he not been influenced by the force of Constantine's example; but this, in a manner, necessarily obliged him to divide his empire in two—Arcadius had the East, Honorius the West; and from that time there never was any hopes or opportunity of reuniting them.

According to the order of nature, by which the destruction of one thing contributes to the production of others, so, in proportion as the most distant members of the empire of the West fell off from it, from thence there arose kingdoms; though indeed they did not at first bear that rank. The most ancient of these (its origin appearing to have been in the eighth year of the empire of Honorius) is, undoubtedly, that which was founded in Gaul by the French, so called from Franconia, from whence they were invited by the Gauls, who inhabited the countries about the Moselle, to assist them in their deliverance from the oppression of the Roman armies. It being a custom among these Franks, or French, to confer the title of king upon whatever person

* It would be unjust surely to refuse the title of Emperors of the West to Valentinian III., to Honorius, &c. The expressions here used by our author should not be understood in their most rigorous sense, but only as meaning an empire weakening, and approaching to its final destruction.

they chose to be their leader, if the first or second of these chiefs did not bear it, it is certain, at least, that the third, which was Merovius, and more particularly Clovis, who was the fifth, were invested with it;* and some of them supported it with so much glory—among others Pepin and Charles Martel, to whom it would be doing an injustice to refuse them this dignity—that their worthy successor, Charlemagne, revived in Gaul an imperfect image of the now extinguished empire in the West: this, indeed, was facilitated by those natural advantages France enjoys of numerous inhabitants trained to war, and a great plenty of all things serving the different necessities of life, joined to a very great convenience for commerce, arising from its situation, which renders it the centre of four of the principal powers of Europe—Germany, Italy, Spain, and Britain, with the Low Countries.

Let us here just say one word upon the three races which compose the succession of our kings: in the first of them I find only Merovius, Clovis I., and Clotharius II.; Charles Martel, Pepin le Bref, and Charlemagne in the second, who have raised themselves above the common level of their race. Take away these six from the thirty-five which we compute in these two races, and all the rest, from their vices or their incapacity, appear to have been either wicked kings, or but the shadow of kings; though among them we may distinguish some good qualities in Sigibert and Dagobert, and a very great devotion in Louis le Débonnaire, which, however, ended

* The whole of what is here said may be allowed to be right; according to Petau and Sirmond, the chiefs of the French bore the title of kings from the reign of Valentinian II., which was long before the year 445, when Claudian, by the taking of Cambray, &c., first established himself on this side of the Rhine. They first established themselves on the other side of the Rhine about the middle of the third century, and extended themselves nearly from the Texel as far as Frankfort. This revolt of a part of Gaul against the Romans happened in 434, in the twelfth year of the reign of Valentinian III.; and the author's opinion on the establishment of the French in Gaul is confirmed by a learned academician, who has cleared up this critical point as much as it was possible (the late Abbé Du Bois). (Hist. Crit. de l'Etab. de la Monarchie Franç. dans les Gaules, tom. i. liv. i. chap. 17; liv. ii. chap. 7, 8.)

in his repenting the loss of empire and his kingdom, together with his liberty, in a cloister.

The Carlovingian race having reigned obscurely, and ended so too, the crown then descended upon a third race, the first four kings of which, in my opinion, appear to have been perfect models of wise and good government. The kingdom which came under their dominion had lost much of its original splendour, for, from its immense extent in the time of Charlemagne, it was reduced to very nearly the same bounds which it has at this day, with this difference, that though they might have been desirous to restore its ancient limits, the form of the government, which rendered the kings subject to the great men and people of the kingdom, who had a right to choose and even to govern their sovereigns, left them no means by which they could succeed in such an attempt. The conduct, therefore, which they pursued was to condemn arbitrary power to an absolute silence, and, in its place, to substitute equity itself, a kind of dominion which never excites envy. Nothing now was done without the consent of the great men and the principal cities, and almost always in consequence of the decision of an assembly of the states. A conduct so moderate and prudent put an end to all factions and stifled all conspiracies, which are fatal to the state or the sovereign. Regularity, economy, a distinction of merit, strict observance of justice, all the virtues which we suppose necessary qualifications for the good of a family, were what characterised this new government, and produced what was never before beheld, and what, perhaps, we may never see again—an uninterrupted peace for one hundred and twenty-two years. What these princes gained by it for themselves in particular, and which all the authority of the Salique law could never have procured them, was the advantage of introducing into this house an hereditary right to the crown. But they, nevertheless, thought it a necessary precaution not to declare their eldest sons their successors till they had modestly asked the consent of the people, preceded it by a kind of election, and usually by having them crowned in their own lifetime, and seated with them upon the throne.

Philip II., whom Louis VII., his father, caused to be

crowned and to reign with him in this manner, was the first who neglected to observe this ceremony between the sovereign and his people: several victories, obtained over his neighbours and over his own subjects, which gained him the surname of Augustus, served to open him a passage to absolute power; and a notion of the fitness and legality of this power, by the assistance of favourites, ministers, and others, became afterwards so strongly imprinted in his successors, that they looked upon it as a mark of the most profound good policy to act contrary to those maxims, the general and particular utility of which had been so effectually confirmed by experience. And this they did without any fear, or, perhaps, without any conception of the fatal consequences which such a proceeding, against a nation that adored its liberty, might, and even necessarily would, incur; of which they might easily have become sensible, from the means to which the people had immediate recourse, to shake off the yoke of tyranny with which they saw themselves menaced. The kings could never obtain of their people any other than that kind of constrained obedience which always inclines them to embrace with eagerness all opportunities of mutiny. This was the source of a thousand bloody wars: that by which almost all France was ravaged by the English; that which we carried on with Italy, Burgundy, and Spain; all of them can be attributed to no other causes than the civil dissensions by which they were preceded: and here the weakest side, stifling the voice of honour and the interest of the nation, constantly called in foreigners to assist them in the support of their tottering liberties. These were shameful and fatal remedies; but from that time they were constantly employed, and even to our days by the house of Lorraine, in a league, for which religion was nothing more than the pretence. Another evil, which may at first appear to be of a different kind, but which, in my opinion, proceeds from the same source, was a general corruption of manners, a thirst for riches, and a most shameful degree of luxury; these, sometimes separately and sometimes united, were alternate causes and effects of many of our miseries.

Thus, in a few words, I have exposed the various species of our bad policy with respect both to the form of the government, successively subjected to the will of the people,

the soldiers, the nobles, the states, and the kings; and in regard to the persons likewise of these last, whether dependent, elective, hereditary, or absolute.

From the picture here laid before us, we may be enabled to form our judgment upon the third race of our kings; we may find a thousand things to admire in Philip Augustus, Saint-Louis, Philip le Bel, Charles le Sage, Charles VII., and Louis XII. But it is to be lamented that so many virtues, or great qualities, have been exercised upon no better principles; with what pleasure might we bestow upon them the titles of great kings, could we but conceal that their people were miserable; what might we not, in particular, say of Louis IX.? Of the forty-four years which he reigned, the first twenty of them exhibit a scene not unworthy to be compared with the eleven last of Henry the Great; but I am afraid all their glory will appear to have been destroyed in the twenty-four following, wherein it appears that the excessive taxes upon the subjects to satisfy an ill-judged and destructive devotion, immense sums transported into the most distant countries for the ransom of prisoners, so many thousand subjects sacrificed, so many illustrious houses extinguished, caused a universal mourning throughout France, and all together a general calamity.

Let us for once, if it be possible, fix our principles; and being from long experience convinced that the happiness of mankind can never arise from war, of which we ought to have been persuaded long ago, let us upon this principle take a cursory view of the history of our monarchy. We will pass by the wars of Clovis and his predecessors, because they seem to have been in some degree necessary to confirm the recent foundations of the monarchy: but what shall we say of those wars in which the four sons of Clovis, the four sons of Clotharius II., and their descendants were engaged, during the uninterrupted course of one hundred and sixty years? and of those also by which, for the space of one hundred and seventy-two other years, commencing with Louis le Débonnaire, the kingdom was harassed and torn? What follows is still worse: the slightest knowledge of our history is sufficient to convince any one that there was no real tranquillity in the kingdom from Henry III. to the peace of Vervins; and, in short, all this long period may be called a

war of near four hundred years' duration. After this examination, from whence it incontestably appears that our kings have seldom thought of anything but how to carry on their wars, we cannot but be scrupulous in bestowing on them the title of truly great kings; though we shall, nevertheless, render them all the justice which appears to have been their due: for I confess (as indeed it would be unjust to attribute to them only a crime which was properly that of all Europe) that several of these princes were sometimes in such circumstances as rendered the wars just, and even necessary; and from hence, when indeed there was no other means to obtain it, they acquired a true and lasting glory. For herein, from the manner in which several of these wars were foreseen, prepared for, and conducted, we may in their councils discover such master-strokes of policy, and in their persons such noble instances of courage, as are deserving of our highest praises. From whence then can proceed the error of so many exploits, in appearance so glorious, though the effect of them has generally been the devastation both of France and all Europe? I repeat it again, of all Europe, which even yet seems scarcely sensible that in her present situation—a situation in which she has been for several centuries—every attempt which shall tend to her subjection, or only to the too considerably augmenting of any one of her principal monarchies at the expense of the others, can never be any other than a chimerical and impossible enterprise, there are none of these monarchies whose destruction will not require a concurrence of causes infinitely superior to all human force. The whole, therefore, of what seems proper and necessary to be done, is to support them all in a kind of equilibrium; and whatever prince thinks, and in consequence acts, otherwise, may indeed cause torrents of blood to flow through all Europe, but he will never be able to change her form.

When I observed that the extent of France is not now so considerable as it was in the time of Charlemagne, my intention, most certainly, was not that this diminution should be considered as a misfortune. In an age when we feel the sad effects of having had ambitious princes from time to time for our kings, were all to concur in flattering this fatal ambition it would be the cause of still greater evils; and it may be

generally observed that the larger the extent of kingdoms, the more they are subject to great revolutions and misfortunes. The basis of the tranquillity of our own, in particular, depends upon preserving it within its present limits. A climate, laws, manners, and language, different from our own; seas, and chains of mountains almost inaccessible, are all so many barriers which we may consider as fixed even by nature. Besides, what is it that France wants? Will she not always be the richest and most powerful kingdom in Europe? It must be granted. All, therefore, which the French have to wish or desire is, that Heaven may grant them pious, good, and wise kings; and that these kings may employ their power in preserving the peace of Europe; for no other enterprise can, truly, be to them either profitable or successful.

And this explains to us the nature of the design which Henry IV. was on the point of putting in execution when it pleased God to take him to himself, too soon by some years for the happiness of the world. From hence likewise we may perceive the motives for his pursuing a conduct so opposite to anything that had hitherto been undertaken by crowned heads; and here we may behold what it was that acquired him the title of "great." His designs were not inspired by a mean and despicable ambition, nor guided by base and partial interests: to render France happy for ever was his desire; and as she cannot perfectly enjoy this felicity unless all Europe likewise partakes of it, so it was the happiness of Europe in general which he laboured to procure, and this in a manner so solid and durable that nothing should afterwards be able to shake its foundations.

I must confess I am under some apprehensions lest this scheme * should at first be considered as one of those darling

* The Memoirs of Sully are the only monument which has preserved to posterity an account of the great design of Henry IV. We find no traces of it in any of the historians, authors of memoirs, or other writers, who were contemporary with that prince; their silence in this matter proceeded, no doubt, from their not knowing enough of it to say anything with certainty about it. The world did not begin to descant upon it till the "Memoirs of Sully," wherein it is so clearly described, were published; and among all those who have considered it ever since about the middle of the seventeenth century, I find scarcely any who

chimeras, or idle political speculations, in which a mind susceptible of strange and singular ideas may be so easily en-

have questioned the possibility of executing it: doubtless, because they lived near enough to the times in which it was formed to be convinced, even from the mouths of those who had been witnesses of the preparations and dispositions which were made, that all the measures had been taken precisely in the same manner as related by the Duke of Sully; and consequently, that it would have had but few of those obstacles to encounter which have since been raised against it. The author of a manuscript discourse in the King's Library, which to me appears to be the most ancient memoir we have of that time, seems not in the least to have doubted of success in its execution. And M. de Pèrefixe, who, in the third part of his history of Henry the Great, has given a short but very accurate account of the scheme, says positively that it would have succeeded; and further confirms his assertion by proofs, which he gives p. 388, and the following. The continuator of Thuanus, in what little he has said of it (anno 1609-10), does not appear to have been of a different sentiment. The Marshal de Bassompierre also, in his Journal (tom. i.), seems to be in its favour. To these authorities we may also join that of the author of the Life of the Duke of Epernon, and some others, who all seem to be of the same opinion. Indeed, until the beginning of the present century, all authors appear to have been unanimous on this point; and several of our modern historians have joined them herein. Vittorio Siri (Mem. Recond. tom. i. pp. 29, 514; tom. ii. p. 45, &c.) is the first that I know of by whom this great enterprise has been treated as absurd and impossible; but the ignorance which he shows in the whole affair, even in those points which are the least contested, his attachment to the Spanish politics, and his distance from the persons of Henry IV. and his minister, which is every way apparent in all he says on the subject, render him, in this respect, very justly exceptionable; his sentiments have been adopted by the author of the History of the Mother and Son (tom. i. p. 44), and for a similar reason of attachment to the queen, mother of Louis XIII. But this writer, such as he is, producing no better authority for his opinion than the age of Henry IV., who was then near sixty, appears also to have been so entirely unacquainted with the affair, that we may, without scruple, pronounce he was ignorant of the disposition which had been made for the complete execution of it within the space of three years, and that he condemns the design without understanding it. I have much greater reverence for the authority of some modern politicians, who consider it as a kind of impossibility thus to change the face of all Europe in the manner proposed by Henry IV., and who imagine that in our days a much more happy expedient has been discovered whereby to obtain the equilibrium of Europe, than by reviving the ancient council of the Amphyctions; what I mean is the precaution now observed of having all the principal powers of Europe accede to, and become the guarantees of, every particular treaty. But all those calamities which we have suffered in

gaged; those who shall think thus of it, must be of that sort of people on whom the first impressions upon a prejudiced imagination have the force of truth; or those who, by their distance from the times and their ignorance of the circumstances, confound the wisest and noblest enterprises that have ever been formed, with those chimerical projects which princes, intoxicated with their power, have in all ages amused themselves in forming. I confess that if we attentively examine the designs which have been planned from motives of vanity, confidence in good fortune, ignorance, nay, from sloth, and even timidity itself, we must be surprised to behold sovereigns plunged blindly into schemes, specious perhaps in appearance, but which, at bottom, have not the least

consequence of war do but too plainly evince its insufficiency. In regard to the main stress of the question, I agree with them that Europe could not now, but with great difficulty, be constituted in the manner proposed by Henry the Great; nevertheless I believe, without pretending to subject any one to my opinion, that those who treat this prince's design as a chimera do not pay all the necessary attention to the circumstances of those times, wherein Europe, from her frequent dangers of being subjected to the house of Austria, and by the bloody wars which a difference of religion had excited, and continued daily to excite, found herself in a manner compelled to have recourse to extraordinary means to put a period to her miseries. I cannot finish this remark better than in the words of M. l'Abbé de Saint-Pierre, in his Discours sur le Grand Homme: "From hence we may perceive, that if Henry IV., King of France, had executed his celebrated and well-projected design, whereby to render peace perpetual and universal among the sovereigns of Europe, he would have procured the greatest possible benefit, not only to his own subjects, but to all the Christian kingdoms, and even, by a necessary consequence, to the world in general; a benefit of which all generations, present and to come, would have participated down to the latest time; a benefit by which we should have been exempted from those terrible and numerous evils which are the effects of foreign and domestic wars; a benefit which would have been the source of all those sweets which naturally flow from an uninterrupted and universal tranquillity;—if, I say, he had been so happy as to have executed this great design, it would have rendered him, beyond all comparison, the greatest man the world ever has, or probably ever will produce." After some further reflections upon the means still more practicable, this judicious author adds: "This prince, however, has always had the honour of being considered as the author of the most important invention, and most useful discovery for the benefit of mankind, that has yet appeared in the world; the execution of which may, perhaps, be reserved by Providence for the greatest and most capable of his successors."

degree of possibility. The mind of man pursues with so much complacency, nay, even with so much ardour, whatever it fancies great or beautiful, that it is sorry to be made sensible that these objects have frequently nothing real or solid in them. But in this, as well as in other things, there is an opposite extreme to be avoided; which is, that as we usually fail in the execution of great designs from not commencing and continuing them with sufficient vigour and spirit, so likewise we are defective in the knowledge of their true worth and tendency, because we do not thoroughly and properly consider them in all their dependencies and consequences. I have myself been more difficult to persuade in this matter than perhaps any of those who shall read these Memoirs, and this I consider as an effect of that cold, cautious, and unenterprising temper, which makes so considerable a part of my character.

I remember the first time the king spoke to me of a political system by which all Europe might be regulated and governed as one great family, I scarcely paid any attention to what he said, imagining that he meant no more by it than merely to divert himself, or perhaps to show that his thoughts on political subjects were greater, and penetrated deeper, than most others; my reply was a mixture of pleasantry and compliment. Henry said no more at that time. He often confessed to me afterwards that he had long concealed from me what he meditated on this subject, from a principle of shame, which many labour under, lest they should disclose designs which might appear ridiculous or impossible. I was astonished when, some time after, he renewed our conversation on this head, and continued from year to year to entertain me with new regulations and new improvements in his scheme.

I had been very far from thinking seriously about it. If by accident it came into my thoughts for a moment, the first view of the design, which supposed a reunion of all the different states of Europe—immense expenses, at a time when France could scarcely supply her own necessities—a concatenation of events which to me appeared infinite,—these were considerations which had always made me reject the thought as vain; I even apprehended there was some illusion in it. I recollected some of those enterprises in which we

had endeavoured to engage Europe. I considered those in particular which had been formed by some of our kings, from much less considerable motives, and I felt myself disgusted with this, from the bad success of all the former. The disposition of the princes of Europe to take umbrage against France, when she would have assisted them to dissipate their fears from the too great power of Spain, this alone appeared to me an insurmountable obstacle.

Strongly prejudiced by this opinion, I used my utmost efforts to undeceive Henry, who, on his side, surprised not to find me of his opinion in any one point, immediately undertook and readily succeeded in convincing me, that my thus indiscriminately condemning all parts of his project, in which he was certain that everything at least was not blamable, could proceed from nothing but strong prejudices. I could not refuse, at his solicitations, to use my endeavours to gain a thorough comprehension of it: I formed a clearer plan of it in my mind: I collected and united all its different branches: I studied all its proportions and dimensions, if I may say so; and I discovered in them a regularity and mutual dependence, of which, when I only considered the design in a confused and careless manner, I had not been at all sensible. The benefit which would manifestly arise from it to all Europe, was what most immediately struck me, as being in effect the plainest and most evident; but the means to effect so good a design were, therefore, what I hesitated at the longest. The general situation of the affairs of Europe, and of our own in particular, appeared to me every way contrary to the execution: I did not consider that, as the execution of it might be deferred till a proper opportunity, we had all those resources whereby to prepare ourselves, which time affords those who know how to make the best use of it. I was at last convinced, that however disproportionate the means might appear to the effect, a course of years, during which everything should as much as possible be made subservient to the great object in view, would surmount many difficulties. It is indeed somewhat extraordinary, that this point, which appeared to be, and really was, the most difficult of any, should at last become the most easy.

Having thus seen all parts of the design in their just points of view, having thoroughly considered and calculated,

and from thence discovered and prepared for all events which might happen, I found myself confirmed in the opinion, that the design of Henry the Great was, upon the whole, just in its intention, possible, and even practicable in all its parts, and infinitely glorious in all its effects: so that, upon all occasions, I was the first to recal the king to his engagements, and sometimes to convince him by those very arguments which he himself had taught me.

The constant attention this prince paid to all affairs transacted around him, from an effect of those singularly unhappy circumstances, by which, in almost in every instant of his life, he found himself embarrassed, had been the cause of his forming this design, even from the time when, being called to the crown by the death of Henry III., he considered the humbling of the house of Austria as absolutely necessary for his security; yet, if he was not beholden to Elizabeth* for his thought of the design, it is, however, certain that this great queen had herself conceived it long before, as a means to revenge Europe for the attempts of its common enemy. The troubles in which all the following years were engaged, the war which succeeded in 1595, and that against Savoy after the peace of Vervins, forced Henry into difficulties which obliged him to lay aside all thoughts of other affairs; and it was not till after his marriage, and the firm re-establishment of peace, that he renewed his thoughts

* The present Duke of Sully is possessed of the original of an excellent letter of Henry the Great, supposed to have been written by him to Queen Elizabeth, though this princess is not named, either in the body of the letter, or in the superscription, which is in these words: "To her who merits immortal praise." The terms in which Henry herein speaks of a certain political project, which he calls "The most excellent and rare enterprise that ever the human mind conceived—a thought rather divine than human;" the praises which he bestows upon "this discourse so well connected and demonstrative of what would be necessary for the government of empires and kingdoms"—on those "conceptions and resolutions" from which nothing less may be hoped than "most remarkable issues both of honour and glory." All these passages can relate to none but Elizabeth, nor mean any other than the great design in question, concerning which it evidently appears from hence, that the Queen of England had by letters disclosed her thoughts to Henry. The letter from which these extracts are taken is dated rom Paris, the 11th of July, but without the date of the year. (Lettres d'Henry le Grand.)

upon his first design, to execute which appeared then more impossible, or at least more improbable, than ever.

He nevertheless communicated it by letters to Elizabeth,* and this was what inspired them with so strong an inclination to confer together in 1601, when this princess came to Dover, and Henry to Calais. What the ceremony of an interview would not have permitted them to do, I at last began by the voyage which I had made to this princess. I found her deeply engaged in the means by which this great design might be successfully executed; and, notwithstanding the difficulties which she apprehended in its two principal points, namely, the agreement of religions and the equality of the powers, she did not appear to me at all to doubt of its success, which she chiefly expected, for a reason the justness of which I have since been well convinced of; and this was, that, as the plan was really only contrary to the design of some princes, whose ambitious views were sufficiently known to Europe, this difficulty, from which the necessity of the design more evidently appeared, would rather promote than retard its success. She further said, that its execution by any other means than that of arms, would be very desirable, as this had always something odious in it: but she confessed that indeed it would be hardly possible to begin it any other wise. A very great number of the articles, conditions, and different dispositions are due to this queen, and sufficiently show, that in respect of wisdom, penetration, and all the other perfections of the mind, she was not inferior to any king the most truly deserving of that title.

It must indeed be considered as a very great misfortune that Henry could not at this time second the intentions of the Queen of England, who wished to have the design put in immediate execution; but when he thus laid the foundation of the edifice, he scarcely hoped to see the time when the finishing hand would be put to it. The recovery of his own kingdom from the various maladies by which it was afflicted was a work of several years, and unhappily he had himself seen forty-eight when he began it; he pursued it, nevertheless, with the greatest vigour. The edict of Nantes had been published with this view, and every other means was

* Compare the above with what is said in vol. ii., p. 235.

used which might gain the respect and confidence of the princes of Europe. Henry and I, at the same time, applied ourselves with indefatigable labour to regulate the interior affairs of the kingdom. We considered the death of the King of Spain as the most favourable event that could happen for our design: but it received so violent a shock by the death of Elizabeth, as had like to have made us abandon all our hopes. Henry had no expectation that the powers of the north, nor King James, the successor of Elizabeth (when he was acquainted with his character), would any of them so readily consent to support him in his design as this princess had done. However, the new allies which he daily gained in Germany, and even in Italy, consoled him a little for the loss of Elizabeth. The truce between Spain and the Low Countries may also be numbered among incidents favourable to it.

Yet, if we consider all the obstacles which afterwards arose in his own kingdom, from the Protestants, the Catholics, the clergy, nay even from his own council, it will appear as if all things conspired against it. Will it be believed that Henry could not find in his whole council one person, besides myself, to whom he could, without danger, disclose the whole of his designs? and that the respect due to him could scarcely restrain those who appeared most devoted to his service from treating as wild and extravagant chimeras what he had entrusted to them with the greatest circumspection. But nothing discouraged him: he was an abler politician and a better judge than all his council, and all his kingdom; and when he perceived that, nothwithstanding all these obstacles, affairs began, both at home and abroad, to appear in a favourable situation, he then considered the success as infallible.

Nor will this his judgment, when thoroughly considered, be found so presumptuous as, from a slight examination, it may appear to some. For what did he hereby require of Europe? Nothing more than that it should promote the means by which he proposed to fix it in the position, towards which, by his efforts, it had for some time tended. These means he rendered so easy of execution that it would scarcely require what many of the princes of Europe would voluntarily sacrifice for advantages much less real, less certain, and less durable. What they would gain by it, besides the ines-

timable benefits arising from peace, would greatly exceed all the expenses they would be at. What reason then could any of them have to oppose it? And if they did not oppose it, how could the house of Austria support itself against powers in whom the desire and pleasure of depriving it of that strength which it had used only to oppress them would have raised against it as many open as it had secret enemies—that is, the whole of Europe? Nor would these princes have any reason to be jealous of the restorer of their liberty; for he was so far from seeking to reimburse himself for all the expenses which his generosity would hereby engage him in, that his intention was to relinquish voluntarily and for ever all power of augmenting his dominions; not only by conquest, but by every other just and lawful means. By this he would have discovered the secret of convincing all his neighbours that his whole design was to save both himself and them those immense sums which the maintenance of so many thousand soldiers, so many fortified places, and so many military expenses require; to free them for ever from the fear of those bloody catastrophes so common in Europe; to procure them an uninterrupted repose; and finally, to unite them all in an indissoluble bond of security and friendship, after which they might live together like brethren, and reciprocally visit like good neighbours, without the trouble of ceremony, and without the expense of a train of attendants, which princes use at best only for ostentation, and frequently to conceal their misery. Does it not indeed reflect shame and reproach on a people who affect to be so polished and refined in their manners, that all their pretended wisdom has not yet, I will not say procured them tranquillity, but only guarded them from those barbarities which they detest in nations the most savage and uncultivated? And to destroy these pernicious seeds of confusion and disorder, and to prevent the barbarities of which they are the cause, could any scheme have been more happily and perfectly contrived than that of Henry the Great?

Here then is all that could be reasonably expected or required. It is only in the power of man to prepare and act; success is the work of a more mighty hand. Sensible people cannot be blamed for being prejudiced in favour of the scheme in question, from this circumstance only, that it

was formed by the two potentates whom posterity will always consider as the most perfect models of the art of governing. In regard to Henry in particular, I insist that it belongs only to princes who, like him, have had a constant succession of obstacles to encounter in all their designs. These, I say, are the princes who alone are privileged to judge what are real obstacles; and, when we behold them willing to lay down their lives in support of their opinions, surely we may abide by their sentiments, without fear of being deceived. For my own part, I shall always think with regret, that France, by the blow which it received by the loss of this great prince, was deprived of a glory far superior to that which his reign had acquired.* There remains only to explain the several parts of the design, and the manner in which they were to be executed. We will begin with what relates to religion.

Two religions principally prevail in Christendom, the Roman and the Reformed; but, as this latter has admitted of several modifications in its worship, which render it, if not as different from itself as from the Roman, at least as far from being reunited, it is therefore necessary to divide it into two, one of which may be called the Reformed, and the other the Protestant religion. The manner in which these three religions prevail in Europe is extremely different. Italy and Spain remain in possession of the Roman religion, pure and without mixture of any other. The Reformed religion subsists in France with the Roman, only under favour of the edicts, and is the weakest. England, Denmark, Sweden, the Low Countries, and Switzerland, have also a mixture of the same kind, but with this difference, that in them the Protestant is the governing religion, the others are only tolerated. Germany unites all these, and even in several of its circles, as well as in Poland, shows them equal favour. I say nothing of Muscovy or Russia: these vast countries, which are not less than six hundred leagues in

* From hence we may discover what credit should be given to Siri, when he says that the sole passion of Henry the Great was to amass riches; that his minister forced him into the design against his inclination; and that the Duke of Sully, whom he believes to be the sole author of it, was himself prepossessed in its favour only from mere obstinacy, or perhaps from motives of self-interest.

length, and four hundred in breadth, being in great part still idolaters, and in part schismatics, such as Greeks and Armenians, who have introduced so many superstitious practices in their worship, that there scarcely remains any conformity with us among them, besides that they belong to Asia at least as much as to Europe; we may indeed almost consider them as a barbarous country, and place them in the same class with Turkey, though for these five hundred years we have ranked them among the Christian powers.

Each of these three religions being now established in Europe in such a manner that there is not the least appearance that any of them can be destroyed, and experience having sufficiently demonstrated the inutility and danger of such an enterprise, the best therefore that can be done is to preserve and even strengthen all of them, in such a manner, nevertheless, that this indulgence may not become an encouragement to the production of new sects or opinions, which should carefully be suppressed on their first appearance. God himself, by manifestly supporting what the Catholics were pleased to call the new religion, has taught us this conduct, which is not less conformable to the Holy Scriptures than confirmed by its examples; and, besides, the insurmountable difficulty of forcing the pope's authority to be received in those places where it is now no longer acknowledged, renders what is here proposed absolutely necessary. Several cardinals equally sagacious and zealous, and even some popes, as Clement VIII. and Paul V., were of this opinion.

All, therefore, that remains now to be done, is to strengthen the nations, who have made choice of one of these religions, in the principles they profess, as there is nothing in all respects so pernicious as a liberty in belief; and those nations, whose inhabitants profess several, or all these religions, should be careful to observe those rules which they find necessary to remedy the ordinary inconveniences of a toleration which, in other respects, they probably experience to be beneficial. Italy, therefore, professing the Roman religion, and being moreover the residence of the popes, should preserve this religion in all its purity, and there would be no hardship in obliging all its inhabitants either to conform to it or quit the country. The same regulation, very nearly,

might be observed in regard to Spain. In such states as that of France, where there is at least a governing religion, whoever should think the regulation too severe, by which Calvinism would be always subordinate to the religion of the prince, might be permitted to depart the country. No new regulation would be necessary in any of the other nations; no violence on this account, but liberty unrestrained, seeing this liberty is become even a fundamental principle in their governments.

Thus we may perceive that everything on this head might be reduced to a very few maxims, so much the more certain and invariable, as they were not contrary to the sentiments of any one. The Protestants are very far from pretending to force their religion upon any of their neighbours, by whom it is not voluntarily embraced. The Catholics, doubtless, are of the same sentiments, and the pope would receive no injury in being deprived of what he confesses himself not to have possessed for a long time. His sacrificing these chimerical rights would be abundantly compensated by the regal dignity with which it would be proper to invest him, and by the honour of being afterwards the common mediator between all the Christian princes, a dignity which he would then enjoy without jealousy, and for which it must be confessed this court, by its sagacious conduct, has shown itself the most proper of any.

Another point of the political scheme, which also concerns religion, relates to the infidel princes of Europe, and consists in forcing those entirely out of it who refuse to conform to any of the Christian doctrines of religion. Should the Grand Duke of Muscovy, or Czar of Russia, who is believed to be the ancient Khan of Scythia, refuse to enter into the association after it is proposed to him, he ought to be treated like the Sultan of Turkey, deprived of his possessions in Europe, and confined to Asia only, where he might, as long as he pleased, without any interruption from us, continue the wars in which he is almost constantly engaged against the Turks and Persians.

To succeed in the execution of this, which will not appear difficult, if we suppose that all Christian princes unanimously concurred in it, it would only be necessary for each of them to contribute, in proportion to their several abilities, towards

the support of the forces, and all the other incidental expenses, which the success of such an enterprise might require. These respective quotas were to have been determined by a general council, of which we shall speak hereafter. The following is what Henry the Great had himself conceived on this head. The pope, for this expedition, should furnish eight thousand foot, twelve hundred horse, ten cannons, and ten galleys; the emperor and the circles of Germany, sixty thousand foot, twenty thousand horse, five large cannons, and ten galleys or other vessels; the King of France twenty thousand foot, four thousand horse, twenty cannons, and ten ships or galleys; Spain, Britain, Denmark, Sweden, and Poland, the like number with France, observing only, that these powers should together supply what belonged to the sea service in the manner most suitable to their respective conveniences and abilities therein; the King of Bohemia five thousand foot, fifteen hundred horse, and five cannons; the King of Hungary twelve thousand foot, five thousand horse, twenty cannons, and six ships; the Duke of Savoy, or King of Lombardy, eight thousand foot, fifteen hundred horse, eight cannons, and six galleys; the republic of Venice ten thousand foot, twelve hundred horse, ten cannons, and twenty-five galleys; the republic of the Swiss cantons fifteen thousand foot, five thousand horse, and twelve cannons; the republic of Holland twelve thousand foot, twelve hundred horse, twelve cannons, and twelve ships; the Italian republics ten thousand foot, twelve hundred horse, ten cannons, and eight galleys; the whole together amounting to about two hundred and seventy thousand foot, fifty thousand horse, two hundred cannons, and one hundred and twenty ships or galleys, equipped and maintained at the expense of all those powers, each contributing according to his particular proportion.

This armament of the princes and states of Europe appears so inconsiderable and so little burdensome, when compared with the forces which they usually keep on foot to awe their neighbours, or perhaps their own subjects, that were it to have subsisted, even perpetually, it would not have occasioned any inconvenience, and would have been an excellent military academy: but, besides that the enterprises for which it was destined would not always have continued, the number and

expense of it might have been diminished in proportion to the necessities, which would always have been the same. Though I am persuaded such an armament would have been so highly approved of by all these princes, that, after they had conquered with it whatever they would not suffer any stranger should share with them in Europe, they would have sought to join to it such parts of Asia as were most commodiously situated, and particularly the whole coast of Africa, which is too near to our own territories for us not to be frequently incommoded by it. The only precaution to be observed in regard to these additional countries would have been to form them into new kingdoms, declare them united with the rest of the Christian powers, and bestow them on different princes, carefully observing to exclude those who before bore rank among the sovereigns of Europe.

That part of the design which may be considered as purely political, turned almost entirely on a first preliminary, which, I think, would not have met with more difficulty than the preceding article. This was to divest the house of Austria of the empire, and of all the possessions in Germany, Italy, and the Low Countries: in a word, to reduce it to the sole kingdom of Spain, bounded by the Ocean, the Mediterranean, and the Pyreneean mountains. But that it might, nevertheless, be equally powerful with the other sovereignties of Europe, it should have Sardinia, Majorca, Minorca, and the other islands on its own coasts; the Canaries, the Azores, and Cape Verd, with its possessions in Africa; Mexico, and the American islands which belong to it, countries which alone might suffice to found great kingdoms; finally, the Philippines, Goa, the Moluccas, and its other possessions in Asia.

From hence a method seems to present itself, by which the house of Austria might be indemnified for what it would be deprived of in Europe, which is to increase its dominions in the three other parts of the world, by assisting it to obtain, and by declaring it the sole proprietor, both of what we do know, and what we may hereafter discover in those parts. We may suppose that on this occasion it would not have been necessary to use force to bring this house to concur in such a design; and, indeed, even on this supposition, it was not the prince of this house reigning in Spain to whom these parts of the world were to be subjected, but to different

princes of the same, or of different branches, who, in acknowledgment of their possessions, should only have rendered homage to the crown of Spain, or, at most, a tribute, as due to the original conquerors. This house, which is so very desirous of being the most powerful in the world, might hereby have continued to flatter itself with so pleasing a pre-eminence, without the other powers being endangered by its pretended grandeur.

The steps taken by the house of Austria to arrive at universal monarchy, which evidently appears from the whole conduct of Charles V. and his son, have rendered this severity as just as it is necessary; and I will venture to say that this house would not have had any reasonable cause to complain of it. It is true it would be deprived of the empire; but when impartially considered, it will appear that all the other princes of Germany, and even of Europe, have an equal right to it. Were it necessary to prove this, we need only recollect on what conditions Charles V. himself, the most powerful of them all, was acknowledged emperor; conditions which, at Smalcalde, he solemnly swore to observe, in presence of seven princes or electors, and the deputies of twenty-four Protestant towns; the Landgrave of Hesse and the Prince of Anhalt being speakers for all of them. He swore, I say, never to act contrary to the established laws of the empire, particularly the famous golden bull obtained under Charles IV., unless it were to amplify them, and even that only with the express consent and advice of the sovereign princes of Germany; not to infringe nor deprive them of any of their privileges; not to introduce foreigners into their council; not to make either war or peace without their consent; not to bestow honours and employments but on natives of Germany; not to use any other but the German language in all writings; not to levy any taxes by his own authority, nor apply any conquests which might be made to his own particular profit. He, in particular, formally renounced all pretensions to hereditary right in his house to the imperial dignity; and, according to the second article of the golden bull, he swore never in his lifetime to recognise a king of the Romans. When the Protestants of Germany, after they had in a manner driven Ferdinand out of it, consented that the imperial crown should be placed on his head, they were careful to make

him renew his engagements in regard to all these articles, and to all these new regulations relative to the free exercise of their religion.

As to the possessions of the house of Austria in Germany, Italy, and the Low Countries, of which it was to be deprived, not to mention here how much it is indebted for them to a tyrannical usurpation, it would, after all, be only depriving it of territories which it keeps at so prodigious an expense (I speak in particular of Italy and the Low Countries), as all its treasures of the Indies have not been able to defray: and besides, by investing it with the exclusive privilege above mentioned, of gaining new establishments, and appropriating to its own use the mines and treasures of the three other parts of the world, it would be abundantly indemnified; for these new acquisitions would be at least as considerable, and undoubtedly far more rich, than those. But what is here proposed must not be understood as if the other nations of Europe were excluded from all commerce to those countries; on the contrary, it should be free and open to every one, and the house of Austria, instead of considering this stipulation, which is of the greatest consequence, as an infringement of its privileges, would rather have reason to regard it as a further advantage.

From a further examination and consideration of these dispositions, I do not doubt but the house of Austria would have accepted the proposed conditions without being forced to it. But, supposing the contrary, what would a resistance have signified? The promise made to all the princes of Europe, of enriching themselves by the territories of which this house was to be divested, would deprive it of all hopes of assistance from any of them.

Upon the whole, then, it appears that all parties would have been gainers by it, and this was what assured Henry the Great of the success of his design: the empire would again become a dignity to which all princes, but particularly those of Germany, might aspire: and this dignity would be so much the more desirable, though, according to its original institution, no revenues would be annexed to it, as the emperor would be declared the first and chief magistrate of the whole Christian republic; and as we may suppose this honour would afterwards be conferred only on the most worthy, all

his privileges in this respect, instead of being diminished, would be enlarged, his authority over the Belgic and Helvetic republics would be more considerable, and upon every new election they would be obliged to render him a respectful homage. The electors would still continue to enjoy the right of electing the emperor, as well as of nominating the King of the Romans, with this restriction only,—that the election should not be made twice successively out of the same family. The first to have been elected in this manner was the Elector of Bavaria, who was also, in consequence of the partition, to have had those territories possessed by the house of Austria which joined to his own on the side of Italy.

The rest of these territories were to have been divided and equally distributed by the Kings of France, England, Denmark, and Sweden, among the Venetians, the Grisons, the Duke of Würtemberg, and the Marquis of Baden, Anspach, and Dourlach. Bohemia was to have been constituted an elective kingdom, by annexing it to Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia. Hungary was also to have been an elective kingdom, and the pope, the Emperor, the Kings of France, England, Denmark, Sweden, and Lombardy, were to have had the right of nomination to it; and because this kingdom may be considered as the barrier of Christendom against the infidels, it was to have been rendered the most powerful and able to resist them; and this was to have been done by immediately adding to it the Archduchy of Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, and by afterwards incorporating with it whatever might be acquired in Transylvania, Bosnia, Sclavonia, and Croatia. The same electors were to have obliged themselves, by oath, to assist it upon all occasions; and they were to have been particularly careful never to grant their suffrages from partiality, artifice, or intrigue, but always to confer the dignity on a prince who, by his great qualifications, particularly for war, should be generally acknowledged as most proper. Poland being, from its nearness to Turkey, Muscovy, and Tartary, in the same situation with Hungary, was also to have been an elective kingdom, by the same eight potentates, and its power was to have been augmented, by annexing to it whatever should be conquered from the infidels adjoining to its own frontiers, and by determining in its favour those disputes which it had with all its other

neighbours. Switzerland, when augmented by Franche-Comté, Alsace, the Tyrol, and other territories, was to have been united into a sovereign republic, governed by a council or senate, of which the emperor, the princes of Germany, and the Venetians were to have been umpires.

The changes to be made in Italy were, that the pope should be declared a secular prince, and bear rank among the monarchs of Europe, and under this title should possess Naples, Apulia, Calabria, and all their dependencies, which should be indissolubly united to St. Peter's patrimony; but in case the holy father had opposed this, which, indeed, could scarcely have been supposed, the disposition must then have been changed, and the kingdom of Naples would have been divided and disposed of as the electoral kings should have determined. Sicily was to have been ceded to the republic of Venice, by letters from the same eight principal potentates, upon condition that it should render homage for it to every pope who should bear the title of Immediate Chief of the whole Italian Republic, otherwise, for this reason, called The Republic of the Church. The other members of this republic were to have been Genoa, Florence, Mantua, Modena, Parma, and Lucca, without any alterations in their government; Bologna and Ferrara were to have been made free cities; and all these governments were every twenty years to have rendered homage to the pope their chief, by the gift of a crucifix of the value of ten thousand crowns.

Of the three great republics of Europe it appears, upon the first glance, that this would have been the most brilliant and the richest. Nevertheless, it would not have been so, for what belonged to the Duke of Savoy was not comprised herein. His territories were to have been constituted one of the great monarchies of Europe, hereditary to males and females, and to have borne the title of the kingdom of Lombardy, wherein, beside the territory so called, the Milanese and Montferrat would also have been comprised; and the Duke of Mantua, in exchange for these, was to have the Duchy of Cremona. An authentic testimony of the institution would have been given by the pope, the emperor, and the other sovereigns of the Christian republic.

Among all these different dismemberings we may observe that France received nothing for itself but the glory of dis-

tributing them with equity. Henry had declared this to be his intention long before. He even sometimes said, with equal moderation and good sense, that were these dispositions once firmly established, he would have voluntarily consented to have the extent of France determined by a majority of suffrages.* Nevertheless, as the districts of Artois, Hainault, Cambray, Cambresis, Tournay, Namur, and Luxembourg might more suitably be annexed to France than to any other nation, they were to have been ceded to Henry, but to have been divided into ten distinct governments, and bestowed on so many French princes or lords, all of them bearing rank as sovereigns.

In regard to England it was precisely the same: this was a determined point between Elizabeth and Henry, the two princes who were authors of the scheme, probably from an observation made by this queen, that the Britannic Isles, in all the different states through which they had passed, whether under one or several monarchs, elective or hereditary, as well in the male as female line, and in all the variations of their laws and policy, had never experienced any great disappointments or misfortunes but when their sovereigns had meddled in affairs out of their little continent. It seems, indeed, as if they were concentred in it even by nature, and their happiness appears to depend entirely on themselves, without having any concerns with their neighbours, provided that they seek only to maintain peace in the three nations subject to them, by governing each according to its own laws and customs. To render everything equal between France and England, Brabant from the Duchy of Limbourg, the jurisdiction of Malines, and the other dependencies on Flemish Flanders, Gallican or imperial, were to have been formed into eight sovereign fiefs, to be given to so many princes or lords of this nation.

These two parts excepted, all the rest of the seventeen United Provinces, whether belonging to Spain or not, were

* What then does Siri mean when he entertains us with the design which he falsely affirms Henry the Great had to join Lorraine to France (tom. i. p. 555), and to get Savoy ceded to him (tom. ii. p. 61)? What he says of the dispositions in regard to the pope and the Venetians, &c. (tom. ii. p. 180), is equally false. This writer seems indeed to have been in the pay of the house of Austria.

to have been erected into a free and independent state, under the title of the Belgic republic, though there was one other fief to be formed from them, bearing the title of a principality, to be granted to the Prince of Orange; also some other inconsiderable indemnities for three or four other persons. The succession of Cleves was to have been divided among those princes whom the emperor would have deprived of it, as the means of gratifying them at the expense of the house of Austria, as well as some other princes of the same district, to whom the imperial towns situated therein would have been granted. Even Sweden and Denmark, though they were to be considered as under the influence of the same law which England and France had imposed on themselves, would, by this distribution, have enlarged their territories, and acquired other considerable advantages. An end would have been put to the perpetual troubles which agitated these two kingdoms; and this, I think, would have been rendering them no inconsiderable service. All these cessions, exchanges, and transpositions towards the north of Germany were to have been determined by the Kings of France, England, and Lombardy, and the republic of Venice.

And now, perhaps, the purport of the design may be perceived, which was to divide Europe equally among a certain number of powers, in such a manner that none of them might have cause either of envy or fear from the possessions or power of the others. The number of them was reduced to fifteen, and they were of three kinds: six great hereditary monarchies, five elective monarchies, and four sovereign republics. The six hereditary monarchies were France, Spain, England or Britain, Denmark, Sweden, and Lombardy; the five elective monarchies were the Empire, the Papacy or Pontificate, Poland, Hungary, and Bohemia; the four republics were the Venetian, the Italian—or what, from its dukes, may be called the Ducal—the Swiss, Helvetic, or Confederate, and the Belgic, or Provincial republic.

The laws and ordinances proper to cement a union between all these princes, and to maintain that harmony which should be once established among them, the reciprocal oaths and engagements in regard both to religion and policy, the mutual assurances in respect to the freedom of commerce, and the measures to be taken to make all these partitions

with equity and to the general content and satisfaction of the parties; all these matters are to be understood, nor is it necessary to say anything of the precaution taken by Henry in regard to them. The most that could have happened would have been some trifling difficulties, which would easily have been obviated in the general council, representing all the states of Europe, the establishment of which was certainly the happiest invention that could have been conceived to prevent those innovations which time often introduces in the wisest and most useful institutions.

The model of this general council of Europe had been formed on that of the ancient Amphyctions of Greece, with such alterations only as rendered it suitable to our customs, climate, and policy. It consisted of a certain number of commissioners, ministers, or plenipotentiaries from all the governments of the Christian republic, who were to be constantly assembled as a senate, to deliberate on any affairs which might occur, to discuss the different interests, pacify the quarrels, clear up and determine all the civil, political, and religious affairs of Europe, whether within itself or with its neighbours. The form and manner of proceeding in the senate would have been more particularly determined by the suffrages of the senate itself. Henry was of opinion that it should be composed of four commissioners from each of the following potentates: the Emperor, the Pope, the Kings of France, Spain, England, Denmark, Sweden, Lombardy, Poland, and the republic of Venice; and of two only from the other republics and inferior powers, which altogether would have composed a senate of about sixty-six persons, who should have been re-chosen every three years.

In regard to the place of meeting, it remained to be determined whether it would be better for the council to be fixed or ambulatory, divided into three, or united in one. If it were divided into three, each containing twenty-two magistrates, then each of them must have been fixed in such a centre as should appear to be most commodious, as Paris or Bourges for one, and somewhere about Trente and Cracovia for the two others. If it were judged more expedient not to divide their assembly, whether fixed or ambulatory, it must have been nearly in the centre of Europe, and would consequently have been fixed in some one of the fourteen cities

following: Metz, Luxembourg, Nancy, Cologne, Mayence, Treves, Frankfort, Wirtzbourg, Heidelberg, Spire, Worms, Strasbourg, Basle, or Besançon.

Besides this general council it would, perhaps, have been proper to have constituted some others of an inferior degree, for the particular convenience of different districts. For example, were six such created, they might have been placed at Dantzic, Nuremberg, Vienna, Bologna, Constance, and the last wherever it should be judged most convenient for the kingdoms of France, Spain, England, and the Belgic republic. But whatever the number or form of these particular councils might have been, it would have been absolutely necessary that they should be subordinate, and recur, by appeal, to the great general council, whose decisions, when considered as proceeding from the united authority of all the sovereigns, pronounced in a manner equally free and absolute, must have been regarded as so many final and irrevocable decrees.

But let us quit these speculative designs, in which practice and experience would, perhaps, have caused many alterations; and let us come to the means actually employed by Henry to facilitate the execution of his great design.

To gain one of the most powerful princes of Europe, with whom to concert all his designs, was what Henry always considered as of the utmost consequence: and this was the reason that after the death of Elizabeth, who had indissolubly united the interests of the two crowns of France and England, every means was used which might inspire her successor, King James, with all her sentiments. Had I but succeeded in the solemn embassy, the particulars of which I have related already, so far as to have gained this prince's consent to have his name appear openly with Henry's, this military confederacy, especially if it had, in like manner, been strengthened with the names of the Kings of Denmark and Sweden, would have prevented the troubles and difficulties of many negotiations; but nothing further could be obtained of the King of England than the same promises which were required of the other courts, namely, that he would not only not oppose the confederacy, but, when Henry had made his designs public, would declare himself in his favour, and contribute towards it in the same manner as the other powers interested therein. A means was, indeed, afterwards found

to obtain the execution of this promise, in a manner so much the more easy as it did not disturb the natural indolence of this prince; and this was by getting what he hesitated to undertake in his own name executed by his son, the Prince of Wales, who, as soon as he had obtained his father's promise that he would at least not obstruct his proceedings, anticipated Henry's utmost wishes, being animated with a thirst of glory and desire to render himself worthy the esteem and alliance of Henry, for he was to marry the eldest of the daughters of France. He wrote me several letters upon this subject, and expressed himself in the manner I have mentioned. He also further said that the King of France might depend upon having six thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, which he would oblige himself to bring into his service whenever they should be required: and this number was afterwards augmented by two thousand more foot and eight cannons, maintained in all respects at the expense of England for three years at least. The King of Sweden did not show himself less zealous for the common cause; and the King of Denmark also appeared to be equally well disposed in its favour.

In the mean time we were indefatigable in our negotiations in the different courts of Europe, particularly in the circles of Germany and the United Provinces, where the king for this purpose had sent Boissise, Fresne-Canaye, Baugy, Ancel, and Bongars. The council of the States were very soon unanimous in their determinations; the Prince of Orange sent the Sieurs Malderet and Brederode from them to offer the king fifteen thousand foot and three thousand horse. They were soon followed by the Landgrave of Hesse, and the Prince of Anhalt, to whom, as well as to the Prince of Orange, the confederacy was obliged for being increased by the Duke of Savoy; by all the Reformed religion in Hungary, Bohemia, and Lower Austria; by many Protestant princes and towns in Germany; in fine, by all the Swiss cantons of this religion. And when the succession of Cleves, which the emperor showed himself disposed to usurp, became another incentive to the confederacy, there was then scarcely any part of Germany that was not for us; which evidently appeared from the result of the general assembly at Hall. The Elector of Saxony, who perhaps remained alone of the opposite party,

might have been embarrassed in an affair out of which he would probably have found it difficult to extricate himself; and this was to have been done by suggesting to him the branch of John Frederic, deprived of this electorate by Charles V.

There were several of these powers in regard to whom I am persuaded nothing would have been risked by disclosing to them the whole intent and scope of the design. On the contrary, they would probably have seconded it with the greater ardour when they found the destruction of the Austrian grandeur was a determined point. These powers were, more particularly, the Venetians, the United Provinces, almost all the Protestants, and especially the Evangelics of Germany. But as too many precautions could not be taken to prevent the Catholic powers from being prejudiced against the new alliance in which they were to be engaged, a too hasty discovery either of the true motives, or the whole intent of the design, was, therefore, cautiously avoided. It was at first concealed from all without exception, and afterwards revealed but to few persons of approved discretion, and those only such as were absolutely necessary to engage others to join the confederacy. The association was for a long time spoken of to others only as a kind of general treaty of peace, wherein such methods would be projected as the public benefit and the general service of Europe might suggest as necessary to stop the progress of the excessive powers of the house of Austria. Our ambassadors and agents had orders only to demand of these princes a renewal or commencement of alliance, in order more effectually to succeed in the projected peace; to consult with them upon the means whereby to effect it; to appear as if they were sent only in conjunction with them to endeavour the discovery of these means; but yet to second them, and according to the disposition in which they were, to insinuate, as if by accidental conjecture, some notion of a new method more proper to maintain the equilibrium of Europe, and to secure to each religion a more undisturbed repose than they had hitherto enjoyed. The proposals made to the Kings of England and Sweden, and the Dukes of Savoy and Lorraine, for alliances by marriage, proved very successful; it was absolutely determined that the Dauphin should espouse the

heiress of Lorraine, which duchy still continued, as before, to depend on the empire.

But no precaution appeared so necessary, nor was more strongly recommended to our negotiators, than to convince all the princes of Europe of the disinterestedness with which Henry was resolved to act on this occasion. This point was indefatigably laboured, and they were convinced of it, when, on the supposition that it would be necessary to have recourse to arms, we strongly protested that the forces, the treasures, and even the person of Henry might be depended on; and this in a manner so generous on his side, that, instead of expecting to be rewarded, or even indemnified for them, he was voluntarily inclined to give the most positive assurances not to reserve to himself a single town, nor the smallest district. This moderation, of which at last no one doubted, made a suitable impression, especially when it was perceived to be so much the more generous, as there was sufficient to excite and satisfy the desires of all. And in the interim, before the solemn publication of this absolute renunciation, which was to have been made in the manifestoes that were preparing, Henry gave a proof of it, that was an absolute demonstration, to the pope.

No one being ignorant that it was at least intended to deprive Spain of those of its usurpations which were the most manifestly unjust, Navarre and Roussillon would infallibly revert to France; the king, therefore, voluntarily offered to exchange them for the two kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; and at the same time to make a present of both to the pope and the republic of Venice. This, certainly, was renouncing the most incontestable right he could have to any of the territories of which this crown was to be deprived; and by submitting this affair as he did to the determination of the pope and the Venetians, he the more sensibly obliged them, as both the honour and profit which might arise therefrom would be in their favour. The pope, therefore, on the first proposition made to him, even anticipated Henry's intentions; he immediately demanded, whether, as affairs were then situated, the several powers would approve his taking upon him the office of common mediator, to establish peace in Europe, and convert the continual wars among its several princes into a perpetual war against the Infidels,

which was a part of the design he had been very careful to acquaint him with; and the pope sufficienty showed that he was desirous nothing should be done without his participation, and that he was still less disposed to refuse the advantage offered to him.

Paul V., when a favourable opportunity offered, explained himself more openly on this head. Ubaldini, his nuncio, told the king, that his holiness for the confederacy against the house of Austria, would, on various pretences, engage to raise ten thousand foot, fifteen hundred horse, and ten cannons, provided his majesty would promise to defray the necessary expenses of their subsistence for three years; would give all possible security for the cession of Naples and the other rights of homage according to promise; and would sincerely consent to the other condition in regard to the treaty which he should think necessary to impose. These conditions, at least the principal of them, were, that only Catholics should be elected emperors; that the Roman religion should be maintained in all its rights, and the ecclesiastics in all their privileges and immunities; and the Protestants should not be permitted to establish themselves in places where they were not established before the treaty. The king promised Ubaldini that he would religiously observe all these conditions; and further, he relinquished to the pope the honour of being the arbitrator of all those regulations to be made in the establishment of the new republic.

The removing of these difficulties in regard to the pope was of no inconsiderable consequence; for his example would not fail to be of great force in determining the other Catholic powers, especially those of Italy. Nothing was neglected which might promote the favourable dispositions in which they appeared to be, by punctually paying the cardinals and petty princes of Italy their pensions, and even by adding to them several other gratuities. The establishment of a new monarchy in Italy was the only pretence these petty courts had for not joining the confederacy; but this vain apprehension would be easily dissipated. The particular advantages which each would acquire, might alone have satisfied them in this respect; but if not, all opposers might have been threatened with being declared after a certain time divested

of all right to the proposed advantages, and even of all pretensions to the empire, or the elective kingdoms; and that the republics amongst them should be converted into sovereignties, and sovereignties into republics. There is but little probability that any of them would even have hesitated what to do. The punishment of the first offender would have compelled the submission of all these petty states, who were besides sufficiently sensible of their impotence. But this method was not to be used but on failure of all others; and even then, no opportunity would have been neglected of showing them favour.

And now we are arrived at the point to which everything was advanced at the fatal moment of the death of Henry the Great; and the following is a circumstantial detail of the forces for the war which all the parties concerned had, in conjunction with him, agreed to furnish: The contingents of the Kings of England, Sweden, and Denmark were each eight thousand foot, fifteen hundred horse, and eight cannons, to be raised and maintained in all respects at their expense at least for three years; and this expense, reckoning ten livres a month for each foot soldier, thirty livres for each trooper, the pay of the officers included, and the year to be composed of ten months, would amount for each of these states to three million three hundred and seventy thousand livres for three years; the expense of the artillery, fifteen hundred livres a month for each piece being also included. The princes of Germany before mentioned were to furnish twenty-five thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and forty cannons; they had themselves computed the expense at nine or ten millions for three years. The United Provinces, twelve thousand foot, two thousand horse, and ten cannons; the expense twelve millions. Hungary, Bohemia, and the other Evangelics of Germany, the same number, and nearly at the same expense. The pope, ten thousand foot, fifteen hundred horse, and eight cannons. The Duke of Savoy, eighteen thousand foot, two thousand horse, and twelve cannons. The Venetians, twelve thousand foot, two thousand horse, and twelve cannons. The expense of these last-mentioned armaments the king himself had engaged to defray. The total of all these foreign forces, allowing for deficiencies, which might

probably have happened, would always have been at least one hundred thousand foot, from twenty to twenty-five thousand horse, and about one hundred and twenty cannons.

The king on his side had actually on foot two good and well furnished armies; the first, which he was to have commanded in person, consisted of twenty thousand foot, all native French, eight thousand Switzers, four thousand lansquenets, or Walloons, five thousand horse, and twenty cannons. The second, to be commanded by Lesdiguières, in the neighbourhood of the Alps, consisted of ten thousand foot, one thousand horse, and ten cannons; besides a flying camp of four thousand foot, six hundred horse, and ten cannons; and a reserve of two thousand foot, to garrison those places where they might be necessary.* We will here make a general calculation of all these troops.

The twenty thousand foot, at twenty-one livres a month to each man, including the appointments of generals and officers, would by the month require four hundred and twenty thousand livres, and by the year five million and forty thousand livres; the eight thousand Switzers and four thousand lansquenets, three millions; the five thousand horse, at sixty livres a month to each, by the month, would require two hundred and forty thousand livres, and by the year, two million eight hundred and forty thousand livres; this computation is made so high as sixty livres a month to each, because the pay of the officers, and particularly of the king's white troops, composed of a thousand men of the first rank in the kingdom, who served as volunteers, was therein included. The expense of the twenty large cannons, six culverins, and four demi-culverins, supposing all necessary furniture for them provided, would amount to three thousand six hundred livres a month for each piece; the thirty to-

* There are some variations in our Memoirs in regard to the number of men, both in the royal grand army, which, in different places, is said to be composed of thirty, thirty-two, and thirty-six thousand foot, of four, five, six, and eight thousand horse, and from thirty to fifty cannons; and in that of the confederate princes of Germany, sometimes computed even at forty thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse; similar differences often occur in regard to those of Italy, and the other confederate princes; neither are the calculations of the expense always the same, nor quite just in their estimates.

gether would consequently require one hundred and eight thousand livres. Extraordinary expenses and losses in regard to the provisions and ammunition for this army might be computed at one hundred and fifty thousand livres.

Next, for expenses, whether ordinary or extraordinary, in spies, for the sick and wounded, and other unforeseen contingencies, computing at the highest a like sum of one million eight hundred thousand livres. To supply the deficiencies which might happen in the armies of the confederate princes, to pay the pensions, and to answer other particular exigencies which might arise in the kingdom, three hundred thousand livres a month; for the year, three million six hundred thousand livres. The army of Lesdiguières would require three millions a year, and as much for each of the armies of the pope, the Venetians, and the Duke of Savoy. These last four articles together make twelve millions a year, which, added to the preceding sums, amount in the whole to about thirty million one hundred and sixty thousand livres a year.

It remains only to triple this total for the three years during which it was supposed there might be occasion for the forces, and the whole amount will appear to be between ninety and ninety-one millions, which might nearly be necessary to defray the expenses of the intended war; I say nearly, for in this calculation I have not included the flying camp, nor the two thousand men for garrisons: the first of these two articles, at the rate of eighteen livres a month to each foot soldier, and fifty livres to each trooper, would require a further sum of about one hundred and thirty thousand livres a month, which, for a year, would be one million five hundred thousand livres, and four million five hundred thousand livres for three years; the second article, for the three years, would require about twelve hundred thousand livres.

On a supposition that the expense of France on this occasion would not have amounted to more than between ninety and ninety-five millions, which supposition is far from being hazardous, because we have here computed everything at the highest it would bear, it is easy to show that, at the expiration of the three years, Henry would have remaining in his coffers thirty millions, over and above what would be expended. The total amount of all the receipts from the several funds, formed and to be formed for these three years, being one

hundred and twenty-one million five hundred and forty thousand livres, as appears from the three estimates which I drew up and presented to his majesty.

The first of these estimates, which contained only a list of the sums actually deposited in the Bastille, amounted to twenty-two million four hundred and sixty thousand livres, in several coffers, marked Phelipeaux, Puget, and Bouhier; the second was another list of the sums actually due from the farmers, partisans, and receivers-general, which might be considered as in possession, and produced another total of eighteen million six hundred and thirteen thousand livres; these two totals together made forty-one million seventy-three thousand livres, which the king would immediately have at his disposal. To acquire the rest of these hundred and twenty-one millions, I had recourse, in the third estimate, to no new taxations: the whole remainder would arise solely from the offers of augmentation upon the several royal revenues which the farmers and partisans had made for a lease of three years, and from what the officers of justice and the finances had voluntarily engaged to furnish, provided they might be permitted the free enjoyment of certain privileges; so that in these one hundred and twenty-one millions I had not comprehended the three years' receipts of the other royal revenues. And in case it were afterwards necessary to have recourse to means somewhat more burdensome, I had given the king another estimate, whereby, instead of these one hundred and twenty-one millions, it appeared that one hundred and seventy-five millions might have been raised. I also demonstrated that, upon any pressing emergency, this kingdom could open itself resources of treasure that are almost innumerable.

It was very much to be wished that the sums of money and the numbers of men to be furnished by the other confederates would be equally well secured by such estimates; but whatever deficiencies might have happened, having forty-one millions to distribute wherever it might be found necessary, what obstacles could Henry have to fear from a power who was known to be destitute of money, and even of troops? no one being ignorant that the best and most numerous forces which Spain had in its service were drawn from Sicily, Naples, and Lombardy, or else were Germans, Switzers, and Walloons.

Everything, therefore, concurring to promote success, and good magazines being placed in proper parts of the passage, the king was on the point of marching, at the head of his army, directly to Mézières, from whence, taking his route by Clinchamp, Orchimont, Beauraign, Offais, Longpré, &c., after having caused five forts to be erected in these quarters, and therein placed his two thousand men destined for that purpose, with the necessary provisions and ammunition, he would, near Duren and Stavelo, have joined the two armies which the princes of Germany and the United Provinces would have caused to march thither; and then, beginning by occupying all those passages through which the enemy might find entrance into the territories of Juliers and Cleves, these principalities, which were a pretext for the armament, would consequently have immediately submitted to him, and would have been sequestrated, till it should appear how the emperor and the King of Spain would act, in regard to the designs of the confederate princes.

This was the moment fixed on to publish and make known throughout Europe the declarations, in form of manifestoes, which were to open the eyes of all in regard to their true interests, and the real motives which had caused Henry and the confederate princes thus to take up arms. These manifestoes were composed with the greatest care; a spirit of justice, honesty, and good faith, of disinterestedness and good policy, were everywhere apparent in them; and, without wholly discovering the several changes intended to be made in Europe, it was intimated that their common interest had thus compelled its princes to arm themselves, and not only to prevent the house of Austria from getting possession of Cleves, but also to divest her of the United Provinces, and of whatever else she unjustly possessed; that their intentions were to distribute these territories among such princes and states as were the weakest; that the design was such as could not surely give occasion to a war in Europe; that, though armed, the kings of France and the North rather chose to be mediators in the causes of complaint which Europe, through them, made against the house of Austria, and only sought to determine amicably all differences subsisting among the several princes; and that, whatever was done on this occasion, should be not only with the unanimous consent of all these powers,

but even of all their people, who were hereby invited to give in their opinions to the confederate princes: such also would have been the substance of the circular letters which Henry and the associated princes would at the same time have sent to all places subject to them; that so, the people being informed, and joining their suffrages, a universal cry from all parts of Christendom would have been raised against the house of Austria.

As it was determined to avoid with the utmost caution whatever might give umbrage to any one, and Henry being desirous to give still more convincing proofs to his confederates that to promote their true interests was his sole study and design, to the letters already mentioned he would have added others to be written to different courts, particularly to the electors of Cologne and Treves, the Bishops of Munster, Liege, and Paderborn, and the Duke and Duchess of Lorraine; and this conduct would have been pursued, in regard even to our enemies, in the letters which were to be written to the archduke, and the infanta his wife, to the emperor himself, and to all the Austrian princes, requesting them, from the strongest and most pressing motives, to embrace the only right and reasonable party; in all places, nothing would have been neglected to instruct, convince, and gain confidence; the execution of all engagements, and the distribution or sequestration of whatever territories might require to be so disposed, would have been strictly, and even scrupulously observed; force would never have been employed till arguments, entreaties, embassies and negotiations should have failed: finally, even in the use of arms, it would have been not as enemies, but pacifiers; the queen would have advanced as far as Metz, accompanied by the whole court, and attended by such pomp and equipage as were suitable only to peace.

Henry had projected a new method of discipline in his camp, which very probably would have produced the good effects intended by it, especially if his example had been imitated by the other princes his allies. He intended to have created four marshals of France, or at least four camp marshals, whose sole care should have been to maintain universal order, discipline, and subordination. The first of these would have had the inspection of the cavalry, the second of the French infantry, the third of the foreign forces, and the

fourth of whatever concerned the artillery, ammunition, and provisions; and the king would have required an exact and regular account from these four officers of whatever was transacted by them in their respective divisions. He applied himself with equal ardour to cause all military virtues to be revered and honoured in his army, by granting all employs and places of trust to merit only, by preferring good officers, by rewarding the soldiers, by punishing blasphemies and other impious language, by showing a regard both for his own troops and those of his confederates, by stifling a spirit of discord, caused by a difference of religion; and, finally, by uniting emulation with that harmony of sentiments which contributes more than all the rest to obtain victory.

The consequence of this enterprise, with regard to war, would have depended on the manner in which the emperor and the King of Spain should receive the propositions and reply to the manifestoes of the confederate princes; it seems probable that the emperor, submitting to force, would have consented to everything. I am even persuaded he would have been the first to demand an amicable interview with the King of France, that he might at least extricate himself with honour from the difficulties in which he would have been involved; and he would probably have been satisfied with assurances that the imperial dignity, with all its rights and prerogatives, should be secured to him for his life. The archdukes had made great advances; they engaged to permit the king, with all his troops, to enter their territories and towns, provided they committed no hostilities in them, and paid punctually, in all places, for whatever they required. If these appearances were not deceitful, Spain, being abandoned by all, must, though unwillingly, have submitted to the will of its conquerors.

But it may be supposed that all the branches of the house of Austria would, on this occasion, have united, and, in defence of their common interests, would have used all the efforts of which they were capable. In this case, Henry and the confederate princes, by declaring war in form against their enemies, and depriving the Spaniards of all communications, especially with the Low Countries, and having, as we have said, united all their forces, given audience to the princes of Germany, promised assistance to the people of

Hungary and Bohemia who should come to implore it of them, and finally secured the territory of Cleves,—these princes, I say, would then have caused their three armies to advance towards Basle and Strasbourg to support the Switzers, who, after having, for form's sake, asked leave of the emperor, would have declared for the union. The United Provinces, though at a considerable distance from these armies, would yet have been sufficiently defended by the flying camp, which Henry would have caused to advance towards them; by the arms of England and the North, to whose protection they would be entrusted; by the care which at first would have been taken to get possession of Charlemont, Maestricht, Namur, and other places near the Meuse, and finally by the naval forces of these provinces, which, in conjunction with those of England, would have reigned absolute masters at sea.

These measures being taken, the war could have been waged only in Italy or Germany; and supposing it to have been in the former, the three armies of Henry, the Prince of Orange, and the Princes of Germany, quitting Franche-Comté, after having fortified it in the same manner as the Low Countries, by a small body of troops, would have marched with their forces towards the Alps, where they would have been joined by those of Lesdiguières, the pope, the Venetians, and the Duke of Savoy, who then would have declared themselves openly,—the Duke of Savoy, by requiring a portion for his duchess, equal to what had been given to the Infanta Isabella, and the other powers by demanding the execution of the agreement in regard to Navarre, Naples, and Sicily, and thus, from all parts of Europe, war would be declared against Spain. If the enemy should appear inclined to draw the war into Germany, then the confederates, having left a considerable number of troops in Italy, would have penetrated even into the heart of Germany, where, from Hungary and Bohemia, they would have been strengthened by those powerful succours which were there preparing.

The other events, in consequence of these dispositions, can only be conjectured, because they would greatly depend on the degree of alacrity with which the enemy should oppose the rapidity of our conquests, and on the readiness with which the confederates, especially those at the extremity of

Germany, should make good their engagements. Nevertheless, I am persuaded, that from the dispositions, as here laid down, there are none but must regard the house of Austria as struck by the blow whose force was for ever to annihilate its power, and open a passage to the execution of the other projected designs, to which this attack could only be considered as the preliminary. I will add, too (and here the voice of all Europe will vindicate me from the imputation of partiality), that if the force necessary to render such an enterprise successful does always depend on the person of the chief who conducts it, this could not have been better conferred than upon Henry the Great. With a valour alone capable of surmounting the greatest difficulties, and a presence of mind which neither neglected nor lost any opportunities of advantage; with a prudence which, without precipitating anything, or attempting too many things at a time, could regularly connect them together, and perfectly knew what might and what might not be the result of time; with a consummate experience; and, finally, with all those other great qualifications, whether as a warrior or politician, which were so remarkable in this prince,—what is there which might not have been obtained? This was the meaning of that modest device which this great king caused to be inscribed on some of the last medals that were struck under his reign: *Nil sine concilio.*

# SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

# LIFE OF THE DUKE OF SULLY

## AFTER HIS RETREAT.

Conduct of the Duke of Sully in the assembly of the Protestants at Châtellerault, and of this assembly with regard to the personal affairs of Sully—The part he has in the Duke of Rohan's disputes with the queen-regent, on account of St. Jean d'Angely—The queen-regent's reliance upon him, and the letters which she writes to him during the rebellion of the princes and the Protestants—Counsels which he gives her, and the services which he performs on this occasion—He is made Marshal of France—His discontent with his son and grandson—State of his family, and the disposition he makes of his estates among his children—His death—Honours paid him by the Duchess of Sully—His tomb and epitaph—An account of his domestic conduct and of his private life—Occupations of the duchess his wife—The Duke of Sully's sentiments upon religion—His public and private buildings.

The first time we find the Duke of Sully mentioned by the historians, after his retreat, is upon his appearance at the assembly of Protestants, held at Châtellerault, in the year 1611. His mind was still embittered by the treatment he had met with at court; he was well informed that the Duke of Bouillon, who, contrary to his real interest and character, was preparing to go thither to support the queen's rights against the Protestants, had put himself at the head of his enemies, and was endeavouring to deprive him of the government of Poitou, and of his post of master-general of the ordnance, which the queen-regent had promised to bestow upon him, in reward for the services she expected from him upon this occasion; it is not, therefore, surprising that, in such a conjuncture, the Duke of Sully should act there with vigour

and spirit. Those who favour the Duke of Bouillon have, through resentment that he failed in his attempt, accused the Dukes of Sully and Rohan of seeking to rekindle the war between the Protestants and the Catholics; but they are the only persons who speak in this manner. All the other writers agree that the conduct of M. de Sully was wholly free from blame; and indeed his enemies acted with so much heat and malignity against him, that the author of the French Mercury,* whom I shall follow in this period of the Duke of Sully's history, condemns him for not taking the only measures that remained to secure his repose. Here follows a short account of what passed with regard to the Duke of Sully, at the assembly of Châtellerault, or of Saumur; for his enemies, being apprehensive that he would be too powerful if it was held at Châtellerault, caused it to be transferred to Saumur.

The Duke of Bouillon making no secret of his intentions to reduce the Calvinists his brethren, and the Duke of Sully in particular, to the last extremity, the common interest reunited the latter with Du Plessis Mornay and the principal Protestant ministers, who, till then, as has been seen through the course of these Memoirs, had acted with great reserve towards him, and great distrust of his sentiments. They began by refusing the dignity of president of their assembly to the Duke of Bouillon, and conferred it on Du Plessis; and made him sensible how much they were offended at the part he had acted, by continually opposing him; so that he could not obtain any of those demands which might probably have been granted to an agent of the Catholic religion, which was a convincing proof that the queen-regent committed a great error when she made choice of the Duke of Bouillon to serve her on this occasion. However, a kind of reconciliation was made between him and the Duke of Sully, through the interposition of Du Plessis; and from that time the Duke found no more obstacles to hinder him from interesting the Protestant body in his particular cause, which became one of the chief subjects of their deliberations.

The assembly addressed him, entreated, and enjoined him (these are the terms made use of by the French Mercury)

* Anno 1611, p. 75.

not to resign his employments, promised to support him, &c.; to which the Duke of Sully answered by a speech, in which he asked the advice of the assembly upon four things: 1st. If he ought to take no notice of the proceedings of his enemies with respect to him? 2ndly. If, on the contrary, he ought himself to make a demand of being again restored to his places? 3rdly. If it was more eligible to accept of a recompense for them? And, lastly, if this recompense ought to be honour and security rather than profit? for it was to conceal the design they had of ruining him entirely that the court made a proposal to him to receive a marshal's staff, or a considerable sum of money, in exchange for his post of master-general of the ordnance and his government of Poitou. M. de Sully concluded this discourse, in which he could not forbear mingling some complaints of the rigour which the council of the queen-regent used towards him, with excusing himself for not having sooner laid before them the hardships he suffered on account of the great difficulty he found to persuade himself that there were really such plots formed against him, as well as of his fears of displeasing some persons to whom he owed all imaginable respect.

This discourse was as agreeable to the Protestants as it was displeasing to Bouillon and the rest of the queen's agents. In their answer, they indeed bestowed very high praises on the Duke of Sully's administration; but they taxed him with being ungenerous, and of having entertained a design to force the queen to restore him to his place in the ministry. M. de Sully answered this accusation by another remonstrance, in which he referred his interests to the assembly. The Duke of Bouillon perceiving what was likely to be the event, took off the mask a second time, and began to cabal with all the Protestants, whom he thought there was a possibility of gaining. In effect, he drew over some; but all his endeavours to gain the Duke of Rohan were fruitless; and having neither been able, with all his address, to hinder the greater number from adhering to the party of his adversary, or to suspend the conclusion, they passed on to their deliberations, the result of which was, that they would assist M. de Sully if his administration was inquired into *by unlawful ways.*

Bouillon, and the rest of the queen's creatures, put everything in motion to obtain a recantation or restriction. As for the Duke of Bouillon, he broke out into rage and exclamation: he gave the most violent counsels to the queen, who contented herself, however, with sending letters in the king's name to the assembly, which Du Plessis, for fear of the consequences they might produce, thought proper to suppress. They now had recourse to mediums and modifications. All the other articles were amicably settled, and that which regarded M. de Sully was suffered to rest, because it was apparent to the whole world that they could not, with any shadow of justice, accuse him of being an unfaithful minister, much less an enemy to the State; and because the Duke of Bouillon, being disgusted with the queen for disappointing him in his expectations of reward, ceased on a sudden to act with the same heat and animosity. The Duke of Sully, therefore, remained in the same situation as when he retired from court.

The following year (1612), the war between the two religions was upon the point of being resumed, by an incident for which our Memoirs seem to prepare us.* Brassac, whom his majesty had appointed to be king's lieutenant of St. Jean d'Angely, after the death of Des Ageaux, was driven out of that city by the Duke of Rohan, whose whole conduct, from that time, sufficiently declared that his sentiments were very different from those of his father-in-law. Although the regent was then in a condition to give him law, and all the Protestants were greatly in fear of her, yet this affair was terminated wholly to the duke's advantage, who obtained all that he demanded. M. de Sully signed the agreement, which was made in the synod of Privas, between the Duke of Rohan on one side, and the queen's agents on the other. This was all the share he had in this great rupture.

The two following letters, which I have transcribed from the originals, in the cabinet of the present Duke of Sully, prove that the queen-mother had recourse to Maximilian on many occasions, and that he laboured with great diligence to prevent or appease the troubles which afterwards arose between the princes and the grandees of the kingdom.

* See vol. iii. p. 163.

A LETTER FROM THE QUEEN-MOTHER TO THE DUKE OF SULLY.

"COUSIN,—I have sent the Sieur de Bethune, your brother, to confer with you concerning the present occurrences,* and have charged him to assure you of my affection, and of my reliance on the continuance of yours, for the service of the king, monsieur my son. You may give absolute credit to what he shall say to you on both these subjects, as you would do to the person of your good cousin,

"MARY.

"Paris, Feb. 12, 1614."

It is superscribed, "To my Cousin, the Duke of Sully, peer, and master-general of the ordnance of France."

* These occurrences were the discontent and retreat from the court of the Prince of Condé, the Dukes of Nevers, Mayenne, Vendôme, and Longueville, the Marquis of Cœuvres and others, his partisans, being disgusted with the conduct of the queen-regent and her favourite Conchini (now Marquis d'Ancre). The prince retired to Mézières, which was held by the Duke of Nevers, while the others repaired to the different places over which their influence or power extended, where they began to collect forces together. From Mézières the prince wrote a letter to the queen, in which he remonstrated against the disorders committed in the government under her authority, and complained that the princes of the blood and the chief nobles of the kingdom were excluded from all share in the administration of affairs, which were confided to three or four persons, who, to maintain themselves in their authority, were constantly sowing divisions amongst the nobility, while they wasted the treasures of the State, and placed the arsenals and frontier cities in the hands of foreigners unworthy of such employments; and concluded with a demand that an assembly of the States should be convened, as was usual during every minority, in order to confirm the different edicts, and to provide against disorders in the kingdom. He also wrote to the parliament at Paris, and to all the nobles who had not already joined him, exhorting them to unite with him, and to the deputies-general of the Protestants, whom he took care to inform he had not forgot in his remonstrances. The queen-regent, however, by acceding to the demands of the malcontents, prevented, for the present, any further hostile proceedings; a treaty was concluded at St. Menehould on the 15th of May, by which Amboise was placed in the hands of the prince, St. Menehould given to the Duke of Nevers, a sum of money granted to the Duke of Bouillon (who had been the secret abettor of this cabal), and an assembly of the States promised. The Duke of Vendôme, who refused to accede to this treaty, was soon after obliged to submit to the king, who advanced into Brittany against him at the head of an army.

ANOTHER LETTER FROM THE QUEEN TO M. DE SULLY.

"Cousin,—Having received your letter of the 1st instant on the 9th, I delayed answering it till my arrival in this province, to the end that, being better informed of the particular things which happened, and the state affairs are in at present, I might tell you with more certainty my opinion of them all in general; but I have found here so much confusion and tumult, so many complaints and infringements of the agreement of St. Menehould, that I confess I know not where to begin or what to desire you to do for me upon this occasion. Declarations are everywhere made, and assurances given me of zeal and fidelity for the service of the king my son and the public good, which are indeed very acceptable; but I find effects so contrary to all this, that I no sooner entertain any favourable hopes than they vanish in an instant. I do not write this upon your own particular account, for I depend upon your affection to the good of your country and our own happiness, in proportion to the experience I have had of it, and the assurance you have given me; but I write to condole with you upon the changeableness and uncertainty of such proceedings. I have within these two days received your last letter here: the bearer of this will tell you what I think of it.

"I do not doubt but that you have, with a freedom and zeal becoming a good subject and an honest man, made those remonstrances to my nephew, the Prince of Condé, which you have given me an account of in your letter, and I am rejoiced to hear that he has taken them well of you; but, if he approves of your advice, what hinders him from following it? By so doing he will get rid of those perplexities in which you tell me he is involved; he will receive of me every reasonable proof he can desire of my good-will, and all the respect and deference due to his quality. If, to assure him of this, anything depends upon me, I shall be glad to know it, and to have your opinion; but I have not yet received those letters which he told you he wrote to me upon that subject. I wish they may be such as may give me that satisfaction, both with respect to him and his friends, for the service of the king my son, as he has often made me hope for, and even request; and this done, I shall make him such returns as he shall have

just reason to be contented with, as likewise all those who shall follow his example.

"I have not yet seen the Duke of Vendôme, so that I know not what I ought to hope from his obedience, for I have advice that he continues to fortify Lamballe, and has engaged a great number of soldiers, who have served, or rather disserved him during these last commotions, and especially since the contract of St. Menehould, to which the king my son and myself are endeavouring to apply the necessary remedies, by the advice of the States of the country, which we are to propose to-morrow. As I promise myself that you will always continue faithful to the interests of the king my son, and that you will readily embrace every opportunity of serving him, you may make what use you think proper of this for that purpose; and I beseech God, cousin, &c. Written at Nantes, August 18, 1614.

"Your good cousin,

"MARY."

In the year 1616 the revolt of the Protestants broke out.*

* Notwithstanding the stipulations of the treaty of St. Menehould mentioned in the preceding note, the Prince of Condé was deprived of Amboise; this, with other infractions of that treaty, gave rise to the events alluded to in this and the following pages. The prince again retired from the court, issued a very severe manifesto against the queen and the government, and proceeded to raise troops both in France and Germany. The Duke of Rohan also, and his brother, were likewise in arms, and joined their forces to those of the prince. In this extremity the court had recourse to the Dukes of Bouillon and Mayenne, the two most considerable persons in the prince's party, whom it so far gained over, that, through their persuasions, the prince consented to a cessation of arms, and a conference to be held at Loudun. The Duke of Sully was present at this conference, which produced another treaty of peace, equally favourable to the prince and the Huguenots. It was not, however, followed by any good consequences; for, through the persuasions of the Marquis d'Ancre, the queen-regent soon after caused the Prince of Condé to be arrested on a charge of still continuing his intrigues, and sent him to the Bastille, from whence he was conducted to Vincennes. This violent proceeding, which, we see above, excited Sully's indignation, roused likewise that of all the prince's friends, who immediately withdrew from the court and prepared for war. The queen, on her part, ordered three armies to take the field, under the command of the Duke of Guise, Marshal Montigny, and the Count of Auvergne, who had been freed from his long confinement in the Bas-

On this occasion the Duke of Sully gave a convincing proof that he preferred the welfare of the State to the interest of his party, and even to his own particular interest, for when it was proposed to him to reunite the party of the Prince of Condé with that of the Protestants, a design which, accord- to all appearance would have ruined the kingdom, the Duke of Sully, whose suffrage was of the utmost consequence, re- fused absolutely to give it, and remained constantly attached to the king. Let us see what Marshal Bassompierre says on this subject in his Memoirs: "M. de Sully, ever solicitous for the good of the State, maintained himself in the esteem and respect of both parties, and endeavoured to set them right, as long as they could subsist in the state they were, by sending informations sometimes to the queen-mother and

tille, through d'Ancre's influence. These commanders were every- where successful. Montigny took Bourges, and the Castle of Chinon, which had been granted to the prince by the treaty of Loudun; and in the beginning of 1617 the Duke of Guise gained, without much resist- ance, all the places held by the Duke of Nevers, and prepared to be- siege Mézières, while d'Auvergne took Pierrefonds and laid siege to Soissons. The Duke of Bouillon had retired to Sedan, where he en- deavoured to raise some foreign troops for the defence of that place. In the midst of these reverses of the princes' adherents an event oc- curred, which not only extricated them from total ruin and put an end to the war, but likewise gave a new turn to the whole of the affairs of the kingdom; this was the death of the Marquis d'Ancre on the 24th of April, 1617. This ambitious and worthless favourite, who had governed France for seven years, was now become the object of universal hatred, and fell at last a victim to the intrigues of M. de Luynes, a favourite likewise, but of the young king, on whom he pre- vailed to order the marquis to be arrested; but Vitry, the captain of the guards, to whom this commission was entrusted, attempting to exe- cute it as the marquis entered the Louvre, the latter, making some resistance, was killed on the spot. His wife, who, as well as himself, has been so often mentioned in these Memoirs, was immediately arrested, and shortly after beheaded by a decree of the parliament; and the Chancellor Sillery, Du Vair, Villeroy, and Jeannin, who had been lately displaced by D'Ancre, were restored to their several posts. The queen-mother was, at the same time, deprived of her guards, con- fined to her apartments, and afterwards exiled to Blois, where she con- tinued till 1619, when she made her escape to Angoulême, through the assistance of the Duke of Epernon; here she came to an agreement with the king her son, which was confirmed by a treaty. In this year also the Prince of Condé was set at liberty, and continued ever after a faithful adherent to the king.

sometimes to the prince; and, on August the 26th, the Duke of Sully demanded an audience of the queen. He then told her that matters were brought to such extremity that it was not possible they could continue eight days longer in the same situation; that as the balance was now held the whole authority must necessarily fall into the hands of the prince; that it was still in her own choice whether to keep or suffer herself to be dispossessed of hers. He declared that she was not secure in Paris, and that she and her children would be safer in the field, with a thousand horse, than in the Louvre, while the minds of the nobles and people were thus enraged. He said that his duty, and the obligations he had to the deceased king, required that he should make her these remonstrances; and that, if there was no other remedy for the present evils but the loss of his life, he would sacrifice it willingly for the preservation of the king, herself, and the State; then, taking leave of her, he implored her to consider well what he had said, and added, that if she did not apply the only fit and reasonable remedy to these commotions, she would be answerable for all the consequences of them, since she had been warned beforehand of what was likely to happen."

The author of the "History of the Mother and Son"* renders, in spite of himself, this justice to the Duke of Sully: "M. de Sully," says he, "demanded an audience of the queen, that he might confer with her upon an affair which, he said, was of no less importance than the preservation of the king's life and hers. The queen had taken physic that day, but upon a matter of such consequence she thought she could not be dispensed from seeing him. The king happened to be present, as were likewise the Sieurs Mangot and Barbin. The Duke of Sully then made a speech, in which he expatiated upon the bad designs of the princes, and the inevitable dangers which he foresaw for the king. The Sieurs Mangot and Barbin told him that it was not enough to discover an evil, he ought likewise to propose some proper remedies to obviate it. To this he only added that the attempt was hazardous, and that they must expect to see very fatal consequences. Then, quitting the queen's closet, he said, 'Sire,

* Tom. ii. pp. 61, 62.

and you, Madame, I entreat your majesties to think well on what I have said: I have discharged my conscience. Would to God you were in the midst of twelve hundred horse! I see no other remedy.' Saying this he went away."

It must be confessed that to the hatred which this writer bore the Duke of Sully is owing the following recital:* "The Prince of Condé being arrested, the ministers told the queen that unless she released him all was lost. M. de Sully, whose vehemence of temper would not allow him time for reflection, nor to give his advice in the present exigency on what might be apprehended for the future, without blaming past proceedings, said that whoever had counselled the queen to arrest the prince had ruined the State. The queen replied that she was astonished to hear him speak in that manner, and that he must certainly have lost his reason since he did not remember what he himself had said to the king and herself but three days before. These words threw him into such confusion that he withdrew immediately, to the great astonishment of all the lords who were present. His wife endeavoured afterwards to excuse him, by alleging that it was the terrors he laboured under at that time which had forced him to speak so, having been informed that the princes and nobles of the Prince of Condé's party had resolved to murder him, through a suspicion that he was the cause of the prince's detention, by the discoveries he had made of their designs."

Without examining here whether the Duke of Sully contradicted himself in the advice he gave the queen at these two different times, we shall grant that the resolution they had taken to arrest the Prince of Condé was both prudent and necessary; and the inference I shall draw from these circumstances is, that this minister never swerved from his attachment to the interest of the king and the public good, on an occasion so favourable to the Protestant party, where he himself ran great risks.

He observed the same conduct during the rest of his life. He was invested with the king's authority in the assemblies of Rouen and Loudun. He supported, like a good citizen and a loyal subject, his majesty's party against the Protest-

* Tom. ii. p. 94.

ants, when the war was declared under the administration of Cardinal Richelieu; he was present at the siege of Montauban,* and other encounters; he even performed all the functions of master-general of the ordnance at the siege of St. Jean d'Angely, and the train of artillery there was furnished and conducted with the greatest care. He kept this office till his death, although the writer of the Duke of Bouillon's life says that it was taken from him. Louis XIII. gave him a marshal's staff, September 18, 1634. The preceding year Pope Urban VIII. wrote him a letter in Latin, to which M. de Sully sent him an answer by his grandson, the Prince of Henrichemont, and which produced a second brief from the pope, in Latin likewise, dated July 16, 1633.

In the same year he lost the Marquis of Rosny, his eldest son, whose conduct had been a continual source of affliction to him, not only because the marquis followed none of the wise counsels he gave him, and joined himself to the enemies of the State, but because the Duke of Sully felt, in more ways than one, the extreme disorder of his son's affairs. And here it is necessary we should give some account of the Duke of Sully's domestic concerns, which will serve to explain several parts of these Memoirs where the Marquis of Rosny is mentioned, and particularly what is said of him in the Twenty-ninth Book.

The Duke of Sully, besides two daughters, the eldest of whom was married to the Duke of Rohan, and the youngest to the Marquis of Mirepoix, had three sons: Maximilian de Bethune, Marquis de Rosny, he had by his first wife, Anne de Courtenay; and Cæsar and Francis de Bethune, by his second, Rachel de Cochefilet. The great estates he was possessed of having been acquired since his second marriage, the children by that marriage seemed entitled to the largest share of them; nevertheless, the Duke of Sully thinking himself obliged to secure to the Marquis of Rosny such an

* This was in 1621, in the first war with the Huguenots, in Louis XIII.'s reign. The garrison was commanded by the Marquis de la Force, and the royal army by the king in person, attended by six marshals, and all the chief nobility of the kingdom. The king, however, was obliged to raise the siege, during which the Duke of Mayenne was killed.—Ed.

estate as might enable him to support the grandeur of his house, of which he was the eldest, to the posts of master-general of the ordnance, superintendent of the fortifications, and to the governments of Mantes and Gergeau, the reversion of which he obtained for him, and which he estimated at sixty thousand livres a year, he added, among other gifts, a donation of lands, producing a yearly revenue of fifty thousand livres, consisting of the duchy of Sully, the marquisate of Rosny, the principality of Henrichemont and Boisbelle, with all their dependencies, the property of which, however, he reserved to himself during his life. The deed of entail, which is dated March 16, 1609, has in it this singular clause: "That on the supposition that none of those, whether male or female, chose to fulfil the aforesaid terms and conditions, the said lord, who makes this settlement, gives, by the present writing, the abovesaid lands to the king or his descendants, according to their seniority, on condition that the said lands shall never be disunited from the crown; and that he who shall possess them, if he be not the king or the king's eldest son, shall be obliged, and his descendants after him, to bear, together with his own name and arms, the surname and arms of Bethune."

But afterwards being solicitous to prevent any occasion for disunion in his family, M. de Sully the following year made two other donations and conveyances of his other possessions in the same form, and by an act of the same kind, in favour of Cæsar and Francis de Bethune, his youngest sons: namely, of the land and lordship of Villebon to Cæsar; and to Francis de Bethune, called Count d'Orval, of the lands of Montrond, Orval, Bruyères, Epineuil, Beauchesal, La Roche Guillebaut, and Le Châtelet, in Berry. The value of each of these donations is estimated at ten thousand livres a year. It is there stipulated that the fortifications, arms, ammunition, and furniture, as well those which were in all these castles when the donation was made, as those which should be found there at the death of the Duke of Sully, should be comprehended in the donation; and if either of his two sons, to whom they were made over, should die without heirs, his portion was to go entire to the survivor. This happened four years after; for Cæsar de Bethune dying un-

married in 1614, the Count d'Orval reunited in himself the two articles of conveyance. In 1620 his father married him to Jacqueline de Caumont, daughter of the Grand-Marshal De la Force, and granddaughter of the first Marshal Biron; and he confirmed by the marriage contract the act of entail made in the year 1610.

Before and after the Duke of Sully had made these dispositions of his estates, the Marquis of Rosny continued to hold his possessions jointly with his father. This community of goods was wholly to the advantage of the son, his mother's estate alone not being sufficient to supply his expenses; but it exposed the Duke of Sully to the prosecution of his son's creditors. The duke paid his debts several times; but they became so considerable by the prodigality and bad management of the Marquis of Rosny, that he took a resolution, at length, to leave him to himself. Such was the beginning of his domestic troubles.

This was soon followed by others more considerable; for after the death of the Marquis of Rosny, his creditors taking the advantage of the community of goods, made an attempt to seize upon some of the possessions of the Duke of Sully. The Prince of Henrichemont,* his grandson, joined with them to annul these conveyances, in which he was greatly assisted by the circumstances the Duke of Sully was then in, who, to get himself clear of the Prince of Condé, had been obliged to do and undo many establishments, and had gained, and sold, and regained, at several times, a great part of the lands contained in those conveyances; such as Villebon, Montrond, &c. This kept the Duke of Sully in continual perplexity with disputes and lawsuits, part of which, however, were amicably settled by the marriage of the Prince of Henrichemont with the daughter of the Chancellor Séguier,† in the year 1639; upon which the Duke of Sully, who was then upon good terms with the Prince of Condé, having Villebon restored, and all his other acquisitions secured to him, made over again, in the year 1640, a new con-

* Maximilian Francis de Bethune, the third of that name, Duke of Sully, Prince of Henrichemont and Boisbelle, Marquis of Rosny, Lieutenant-General for the Government of Dauphiny and the Pays Vexin, Governor of Mantes and Meulan. He died in 1661.

† Charlotte Séguier, daughter of the Chancellor Séguier.

veyance confirming the former, by which he gave other lands in the place of those that might be alienated.

The discontent of the Prince of Henrichemont broke out again upon this new conveyance, and set on foot a lawsuit, of which Louis XIII. and his first minister took the cognisance to themselves, and which continued during the years 1640 and 1641. The petitions and principal pieces of this suit have been printed. The Duke of Sully complains there bitterly that his grandson and the chancellor Séguier, who supported him, sought to take advantage of some failures in the formalities of the settlements, unavoidable perhaps in affairs so long and so complicated. But it would be improper here to enter into a discussion of this point of law. Supposing that all possible right was not on the side of the Duke of Sully, yet it must be confessed that the voice of nature and a principle of gratitude ought to have carried it in favour of a man who had raised his family to such a degree of splendour. However that may be, the Duke of Sully had the mortification to find himself, by a decree of council given in December, 1641, obliged to revoke his conveyance of four of those estates which had been given in the room of the former that had been alienated. He was then eighty-two years old, and it is probable that, jealous as he was of the paternal authority, and convinced in his own mind that in all he had done he had exactly followed the laws of equity, this stroke affected him so sensibly that it contributed to shorten his life. He died eight days afterwards, at Villebon, December 22, 1641.

His bowels were put into a kind of leaden urn, and deposited in the vault of the collegiate church of St. Anne, in Villebon, and upon the vault over it this inscription was placed:

Here lie the bowels of the most high, most puissant, and most illustrious lord Maximilian de Bethune, Duke of Sully, peer and marshal of France.

His body was to be carried to Aumône, or Hôtel Dieu of Nogent, but the mausoleum which was erecting for him there not being finished, it was laid in a leaden coffin, and placed in the Duke of Sully's chamber in the castle of Ville-

bon, where he died. The ceilings, the floors, and walls of this apartment were hung with black cloth; it was left there exposed to view, under a canopy of black velvet, with bands of silver stuff, and the arms of Bethune at the four corners.

In the mean time, the Duchess of Sully caused a closet to be built in the lower gallery of the castle of Villebon, in order to place a statue in it which she designed to erect to the memory of her husband; and for this purpose she bought a block of white marble, the finest that could be procured, and sent for one of the most eminent sculptors of that time from Italy. In the front of this closet is written, in large characters, the Ten Commandments as they stand in the book of Exodus; on one of the sides the epitaph of the deceased; upon the other, his coat of arms, with all the ensigns of his office. The top and all the rest of the closet is filled with pictures, emblems, and mottoes, which it is not necessary to describe here; it is lighted by a long window which occupies the further end. The statue is placed in the midst of the closet, likewise upon a pedestal of white marble; it is a little larger than the life, and represents the Duke of Sully armed from his neck to his feet, with a crown of laurel upon his head, and the ducal mantle on his shoulders; in his right hand, stretched out, he holds the marshal's staff, and his left is leaning upon his coat of arms; the marshal's staff, as well as his casque, adorned with the plume of feathers, which lies at the left side of the statue, are cut out of the same block. This whole piece is so beautiful and so highly finished that it may vie with the ancient monuments of Greece and Rome. Over the door of the closet is written, in cartouche:

Rachel de Cochefilet, Duchess Dowager of Sully, after the death of Maximilian de Bethune, Duke of Sully, her husband, with whom she lived forty-nine years in marriage, to honour his memory, and in testimony of her grief for his loss, has erected this statue, in the year 1642.

The body of this lady being after her death deposited by that of her husband, the mausoleum, which we are going to describe, was common to them both. It is a round chapel, built on the side of that of St. Jacques de l'Aumône, or the Hospital of Nogent, called from their name Nogent-le-

Bethune; it has no communication with the church, because the Duke and Duchess of Sully were so unhappy as to die in the principles of the pretended Reformed religion.* Under this chapel is a vault, where both their bodies are interred. The walls on the inside of this chapel are adorned with the coats of arms and alliances of the house of Bethune; the dome is only coloured with a plain blue, sprinkled with flowers de luce; the effigies of the duke and duchess are of white marble, as large as the life; they are kneeling upon a pedestal three feet in height, with their faces turned towards the east; by an inscription upon the pedestal we are told that this work, which is very well executed, was the performance of B. Boudin, in the year 1642. Behind the statue of the Duke of Sully is this inscription:

Here lies the body of the most high, most puissant, and most illustrious lord, Maximilian de Bethune, Marquis of Rosny, who shared in all the fortunes of King Henry the Great, among which was that momorable battle which gave the crown to the Victor; where, by his valour, he gained the white standard, and took several prisoners of distinction. He was by that Great Monarch, in reward of his many virtues and distinguished merit, honoured with the dignities of Duke, Peer, and Marshal of France, with the governments of the Upper and Lower Poitou, with the office of Master-General of the Ordnance, in which, bearing the thunder of his Jupiter, he took the castle of Montmelian, till then believed impregnable, and many other fortresses of Savoy; he was likewise made Superintendent of the Finances, which office he discharged singly with a wise and prudent economy, and continued his faithful services till that unfortunate day when the Cæsar of the French nation lost his life by the hand of a parricide. After the lamented death of that Great King, he retired

* This is the genuine spirit of Roman Catholic bigotry. How little could this writer conceive, while thus foolishly affecting to deplore the "unhappiness," as he terms it, of the Duke of Sully, that the days were fast approaching in which his "pretended" true "religion" was to be degraded and virtually destroyed, not only in France, but in almost every part of Europe where it was professed, by a usurper of the throne of the Bourbons.

from public affairs, and passed the remainder of his life in ease and tranquillity. He died at the castle of Villebon, December 22, 1641, aged eighty-two years.—Here also lies the most high, most puissant, and most illustrious lady, Madame Rachel de Cochefilet, his wife, who died at Paris, in the ninety-seventh year of her age, in the year 1659.

The way to this chapel is through a long court, planted on each side with elms; at the entrance of which is a portal, of very beautiful architecture, with the arms of the house of Bethune in high-relief, and all the additions belonging to the arms of the Duke of Sully. The house of Bethune bears *d'argent, facé de gueules*, supported by two savages armed with clubs.

Before Villebon was restored to the Duke of Sully, he divided his residence between Sully, La Chapelle d'Angillon—which is a very fine house and barony dependent on the duchy of Sully—and Rosny, which of all his houses he most embellished, as he reckoned upon this being always kept in his family. He was building the wings when he had the misfortune to lose the king, his benefactor; and, as a witness of his grief for that loss, he left those wings imperfect, and in the same condition they were in at the time of that sad event. But when he became again possessed of Villebon, the beauty of that castle, its situation in a most agreeable country, its contiguity to Paris—for it is not more than twenty leagues distant from that city—and the advantage of being in the centre of several great estates which he had purchased with the money arising from the sale of those he had been obliged to part with to the Prince of Condé,—all these considerations determined him to fix his stay there during six whole months of the year, which were the autumn and the winter. He used, in the spring, to make some short journeys to Sully; but that place was become very disagreeable to him, on account of the conduct of his eldest son. The rest of the year he passed at La Chapelle d'Angillon, at Rosny, and his other estates.

The life he led in his retreat was accompanied with decency, grandeur, and even majesty; such as might be expected from a character so grave and so full of dignity as

his. Besides a great many gentlemen and pages by whom he was attended, and ladies and maids of honour about the person of the Duchess of Sully, he had one company of guards with their officers, and another of Swiss; and so great a number of domestics, that there are but few examples of subjects who have kept so grand and so numerous a household. The present Duke of Sully has conversed with the son of an old surgeon belonging to his ancestor, the Duke of Sully, the last of this branch, who died at the age of eighty-eight years, and who was about fourteen when the Duke of Sully, of whom we are speaking, died. This man told him that he had accompanied his father in his visits to the sick in the castle of Villebon, and had reckoned fourscore of them, without perceiving that the service of the house suffered the least disorder or delay upon that account.

M. de Sully always continued his custom of rising very early in the morning; after some time spent in prayers and reading, he set himself to work with his four secretaries. This work consisted in putting his papers in order, in digesting his Memoirs, in answering the several letters he received, in regulating his domestic affairs, and, lastly, in taking cognisance of those which related either to his governments or his posts; for he continued, till his death, governor of the Upper and Lower Poitou and of Rochelle, master-general of the ordnance, surveyor-general of France, and superintendent of the fortifications. He usually passed the whole morning in these occupations; except that he sometimes went out to take the air half an hour or an hour before dinner; they then rang a great bell which was upon the bridge, to give notice that he was going out. The greatest part of his household ranged themselves on each side, from the bottom of the staircase to the door of his apartment; his equerries, gentlemen, and officers, walked before him, preceded by two Swiss with their halberts; the duke came next, with some of his friends and relations on each side of him, with whom he conversed; then followed the officers of his French and Swiss guards; and the procession was always closed by four Swiss.

At his return, he went into the hall, where he dined. This was a very large room, in which he had caused the most memorable actions of his own life, together with those of

Henry the Great, to be painted; at the upper end of the table two arm-chairs were placed for the duke and duchess; all his children, married as well as unmarried, of whatever rank or dignity, had only stools; for at that time the subordination between parents and their children was so great, that they were not permitted to sit in their presence without being commanded to do so. His table was served with taste and magnificence; he admitted to it none but the nobility in his neighbourhood, some of the principal gentlemen, and the ladies and maids of honour who belonged to the Duchess of Sully. Except his guests, all the company retired as soon as the dessert was brought in. After dinner they withdrew into a cabinet adjoining the hall where they had dined. This was called the cabinet of illustrious men, because it was adorned with the portraits of popes, kings, princes, and other great and celebrated persons, from whom he had received them. Many of these portraits are still to be seen at Villebon.

In another adjoining hall, magnificently furnished, the captain of his guards had a second table, served with almost as much grandeur as the first. Here sat the younger sort, and indeed those only whom, on account of the disproportion of age, he chose not to receive at his own table. The present Duke of Sully has been told by several persons of quality, that when they have accompanied their fathers in the visits they made to his ancestor, he kept only the latter at his own table, saying to the young men, "You are not old enough to eat with us; we should grow weary of one another."

When he had stayed some time with the company, he retired to his own apartment, where for two or three hours he employed himself in the same manner as in the morning. If the season and the weather permitted it, he took a walk in the afternoon, attended with the same train as before. He often went into his gardens, and passing through a little covered alley, which separated the flower from the kitchen garden, ascended by a stone staircase (which the present Duke of Sully has caused to be destroyed) into a large walk of linden-trees, upon a terrace on the other side of the garden. It was then the taste to have a great number of narrow walks, very closely shaded with four or five rows of trees or palisades. Here he used to sit upon a settee

painted green, and large enough to hold two persons, and leaning his elbows upon a large grated window, which has likewise been lately taken away, amused himself with beholding, on the one side, an agreeable landscape, and, on the other, a second alley, on a terrace, extremely beautiful, which surrounded a large piece of water called the New Pond, and terminated by a wood of lofty trees called the Great Park. In this park also he used sometimes to walk, and often was driven about it in his chariot or coach, with the duchess his wife. The interval between these airings and supper he spent in the same occupations as in the morning. At supper the same form was observed as at dinner; after which, every one retired to their respective apartments.

The Duke of Sully, on account of his religion, could not be admitted into any order; he therefore made one for himself. In the inventory of his effects there were several diamond rings for that use. He wore about his neck, and more especially after the death of Henry IV., a chain of gold or diamonds, to which hung a large gold medal which had in relievo the figure of that great prince. He used often to take this medal out of his bosom, stop, and contemplate it, and then kiss it with the utmost reverence and affection. He never would quit it, not even when he went to court, any more than his ancient dress, which he always preserved; for he would not subject himself to the change of fashions. It is well known what happened to him one day when he went to court, in consequence of a message from Louis XIII. "Monsieur de Sully," said this young prince to him, "I sent for you, as being one of the chief ministers of the king my father, and a man in whom he placed great confidence, to ask your advice, and to confer with you upon some affairs of importance." The Duke of Sully seeing none but young courtiers about the king, who, to make their court to the Constable de Luynes, ridiculed his dress and the gravity of his manners, made this answer: "Sire, I am too old to change my habits but for some good cause. When the late king your father, of glorious memory, did me the honour to send for me to confer with me upon matters of importance, the first thing he did was to send away the buffoons." The young king seemed not to disapprove of this freedom. He

ordered every one to withdraw, and remained alone with M. de Sully.

The most exact order, subordination, and peace reigned throughout his numerous household; no person knew better how to make himself be served, respected, and obeyed than the Duke of Sully. The Catholics in his service saw no difference between his treatment of them and his Protestant domestics, except the great care he took to oblige the former to an exact performance of all the duties of good Roman Catholics. This was one effect of that esteem, and even inclination, which, in the course of these Memoirs, he has always shown for the true religion, and which would probably have led him to embrace it, but for the considerations he there mentions. The misfortune was that, being persuaded he could work out his salvation in either of the two religions, he was too much governed by his own delicacy, which would not suffer him to have the appearance of being swayed either by ambition or interest, in taking a resolution which would have gratified both in so high a degree. All his children, except the Duchess of Rohan, died in the bosom of the Roman Church.

The duchess his wife, although brought up in the principles of the Roman Catholic religion, quitted it after the death of M. de Châteaupers, her first husband, to marry the Duke of Sully. The lords of Villebon had, in the church of that parish, which is a collegiate, a chapel on the side next the castle, which they caused to be demolished, and built in its place two galleries, of which the lower one was so enclosed that those who were within could not be seen by the congregation, and the one above, to which the ascent is by a little staircase of wood, is also obscured by a grate. It is publicly known that the two Duchesses of Sully and Rohan came often into the lower gallery to hear the psalms during the canonical hours. They washed with their own hands all the linen that was used in the service of the altar. The present Duke of Sully heard this circumstance from Catherine de la Porte, one of his ancestors. This lady, who lived a long time with the Duchess of Rohan, her aunt, heard from her an anecdote which no one at that time was ignorant of, namely, that the Duke of Sully always gave a most gracious reception to the Capuchins that visited him, and had so great

an esteem for them, that, during his last sickness, and a few days before he died, he desired to confer with some of these religious, but that when they presented themselves for that purpose upon the bridge of the castle, the Duchess of Sully gave orders that they should not be admitted, and threatened to have them thrown into the moat.

This lady employed her time in regulating the interior of her household, in having leases drawn out, and the accounts of the farmers and receivers given in; and always visited the several estates of her husband when necessary. In her leisure hours she amused herself with working tapestry and embroidery with her ladies and maids of honour. The beauty and elegance of her work is still admired in some pieces of tapestry that remain in the possession of the Duke of Sully, out of a great number which have been either lost or carried into other families.

The works of the Duke of Sully are more durable. Besides all the other monuments of his liberality of which we have had occasion to speak, he has immortalised his memory by a great number of fine buildings in several parts of the kingdom, particularly in his government of Poitou. He would, if he had continued in the administration till his death, have had all the roads in that province made easy and commodious for travelling. It was he who caused to be built at Châtellerault that magnificent bridge and causeway which are still to be seen there.

There was scarcely one of his estates, those especially which had castles on them, where he did not leave marks of his magnificence, to which he was chiefly incited by a principle of charity and a regard to the public good. He built most part of the Hôtel Dieu of Nogent. This city and lordship, which was distinguished by the surname of Nogent-le-Rotrou, was, by the Prince of Condé's erecting it into a duchy, called Enghien; but, when it came into the possession of the Duke of Sully, it lost both these names, and was called the Earldom of Nogent-le-Bethune. He at first designed to carry on very considerable buildings in the castle of this city, but he met with so many obstacles from the religious of St. Denis that he was determined to turn all his views upon Villebon. Messieurs d'Estouteville, to whom that house had formerly belonged, had left it built only up

to the first story; he raised it and completed it after the model of the Bastille, of which he was governor, but with more beauty. The front presents three sets of chambers, covered with slates between the towers. The towers have flat roofs covered with lead, with pinnacles, and the battlements are alternately round and pointed; the spouts are of the same metal as cast cannon, and the inner spouts which receive those of the corners of the house are likewise of cast metal, eight feet high, terminating in dolphins' heads. The grand staircase is extremely large and luminous. At the first story is a large room, with the beams and joints gilt, as likewise the chimney, which is of beautiful workmanship. The apartments are very numerous, and have their chimneys gilt, and the greatest part of their panels. The park is enclosed with stone walls, and contains a great number of pools and reservoirs. The gardens, which join the house on three sides, the courts, and court-yards, are all the work of the Duke of Sully.

To give employment to the poor who offered themselves during a famine, and whom he thought it no real charity to support in idleness, he made a pond about seven hundred and twenty yards long and a hundred and twenty broad. This he called Chapel Pond. The earth which was dug out he threw up into four terraces parallel to the canal, which reach to the New Pond, another piece of water above the Chapel Pond. Between these terraces and the canal were two levels of turf, which the present Duke of Sully has cut into squares, grass-plats, and bowling-greens. All those who offered were set to work indifferently, even to little children, some of whom did not carry at a time more than half a pound of earth: and for this purpose an infinite number of hand-carriages of all sizes had been provided. To each of these poor people was given in the morning a piece of bread, at dinner-time a dish of soup, and at supper-time another piece of bread, together with wages in money in proportion to their age and labour. This work, which the Duke of Sully never would have undertaken merely for the decoration of his house, cost him fourscore thousand livres.

Everybody knows that he built the castle of Rosny completely, surrounded it with dry ditches extremely wide, where, when batteries were placed, the shot crossed each

other in a surprising manner, a thing very rare at that time. He raised that fine terrace which runs along the sea to a prodigious extent, and those great gardens filled with groves, and grottos with waterworks.

He embellished Sully with gardens, of which the plants are the finest in the world, and with a very long and broad canal, which is supplied with fresh water by the little river Sangle, which he turned that way, and which is afterwards lost in the Loire. He erected a machine to convey the water to all the basins and fountains, of which the gardens were full. The machine is yet in being, but the waterworks have been suffered to go to ruin. With regard to the castle, he had it covered with slates; he wainscoted, painted, and gilt almost all the apartments, and worked in the walls the galleries which pass from the little lodges at the gate to the main castle. The court-yard, and a second court-yard, which was formerly called the Little Park, are likewise his work. There are in this second court several eminences, or enormous heaps of earth, which appear plainly to be the work of men. This expense, which produced no good, and of which the effect is even disagreeable, might surprise those who do not know that the Duke of Sully had no other way of supporting a multitude of poor people, who demanded work in a time of scarcity. St. Ithier was anciently a little church, almost close to the castle: he removed it to the middle of a city, where he built, at his own cost, a very fine church, covered with slate. I shall not mention several other works for which this city is obliged to him; among others, an hospital which he founded there.

The principal apartment of this castle is that which he fitted up in memory of Henry the Great, and which is called, for that reason, the king's apartment. He determined to leave another monument of his gratitude to this great prince in the great hall of Sully. This hall, which, next to that of Montargis, is the largest in France, has a prospect of the Loire. Henry IV. is there painted, in a picture of the first size, upon a very fine sorrel horse. This is the most perfect and the most like of all the pictures of that prince. It is hung over the chimney, which is uncommonly large, adorned with carved work, and covered, both on the front and sides, with squares of painting, containing each an emblem or a

device relating either to the king or the Duke of Sully. One of these pieces has something singular: it is in the front, where the sun is represented casting a weak and pale light, with the moon below it, shining with extraordinary brightness, and lower yet the earth, which seems obscured by the great brightness of the moon. This is the only emblem that has no motto, and may be therefore supposed to contain something mysterious.

The Duke of Sully likewise repaired and enlarged the castle of La Chapelle d'Angillon, built by Mademoiselle d'Albret: he embellished it with gardens and terraces, and a park about two hundred and thirty acres, surrounded with stone walls, which, though strongly built, are now almost ruined by the negligence of his successors. Facing the meadow is a great terrace, remarkable for its height and length, all faced with hewn stone, with pilasters of brick and stone from space to space, which contributed at once to the strength and beauty of the work. At the foot of this terrace was a mean church, which the Duke of Sully pulled down and rebuilt, with great expense and magnificence, at the foot of the citadel of La Chapelle, of which he is considered not only as the lord but as the founder.

The castle of Montigny is indebted to him, among other embellishments, for a fine avenue of trees; and, behind the house, a wall or kind of court, very agreeable, with four rows of elms.

To conclude, it was he that built and cut in the rock the famous castle of Montrond, which was long considered as impregnable. The way to it was by a very broad winding path, cut likewise in the rock, as were also the outworks of the palace, within which there was a well never dry, and sheltered against all violence from without. The Prince of Condé, as has been already shown, obliged the Duke of Sully to give him up Montrond, which, in the times of confusion, was his* principal fortress against the king, whose army was stopped by

* Not his, but his son's. Henry, Prince of Condé, who obtained Montrond from Sully, and of whom such frequent mention has been made in the latter part of these Memoirs, died in 1646, five years after the Duke of Sully, and was succeeded by his son Louis. The times of confusion alluded to in the text were those after the accession of Louis XIV. Montrond was taken in 1652.—Ed.

it eighteen months, and at last took it only by stratagem, after which the fortifications were blown up, and the place destroyed.

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As the different characters of the Duke of Sully which occur in various parts of the preceding Memoirs are all drawn by his countrymen, the following one by Sir George Carew, ambassador to France from James I., written after his return to England in 1609, may not be considered altogether out of place here, or uninteresting to the reader. It is extracted from Carew's "Present State of France," first printed by Dr. Birch at the end of his "Negotiations:"

"The Duke of Sully, as he himself told me, was born the 6th of January, 1560, and by many is held to be of a Scottish extraction, of the family of the Betons, though he himself will not acknowledge it, but pretendeth to be descended from the lords of Bethune, in Flanders. He hath been from his youth brought up with the king, and in thirty-three years never from him. Of his manners and fashions I need not speak, having himself been so lately in England; but some resemble them to a great furnace, which, out of a strong and vigorous heat of understanding and courage, casts also a great smoke of vaunting and rigorous arrogancy. In his negotiating I have found him open, substantial, and ingenious, despising the affectation of seeming wise by petty subtilties and close retiredness.

"Though he holdeth great offices, yet it seemeth the worth of his own person hath rather made his places great than they have exalted him. His first greatness is said to have grown out of this occasion: The Duke of Epernon propounded in council a certain levy to be made upon the people of his government. Rosny being newly come to the place of *intendant des finances*, spake bitterly before D'Epernon's face against it, terming it a shameful proposition and a robbery, and withal tore the memorial which D'Epernon had delivered concerning the same. That indignity exasperated D'Epernon so much, as, reproaching Rosny's baseness and arrogancy, he set his hand to his sword. Rosny answered with as great fierceness, and used the like demonstration of force, adding, that in their birth there was small odds; or, if there were any, it was on his side; and that when it pleased

this king to do as much for him as the last had done for D'Epernon, he should be every way his equal. The king, hearing of this disorder, reproved D'Epernon, bidding him to gourmand his own valets, and not his officers. And that Rosny had answered him well, which he should see by effect, and thereupon promised to make Rosny duke and peer of France. Since that time, the king supported Sully in all his rough courses which he hath taken for the increasing the revenues of his crown; he hath found great profit thereby himself. But Sully hath thereby made himself extremely odious to great and small, and especially to the Count of Soissons, which happened in this sort. Sully delaying to make payment of a certain sum which the king had granted to the count, and the count's solicitor willing and pressing him to consider that it was a prince of the blood whom he delayed, Sully made answer: "It were well with the realm if the king had no more cousins than he had brethren." Whereupon the count, pretending to use forcible means to offend Sully, the king caused it to be notified, that whosoever should attempt Sully should find the king's own person for his second. Since that time Sully hath ever been accompanied with troops of gentlemen, where before he made it his glory to be followed only with one servant and a couple of lacqueys. But he ever carried out the matter bravely, and told myself once or twice that the count threatened many, but hurt none; and in the end both the Count of Soissons and the Duke of Epernon are become his great and obsequious friends.

"When Sully came first to the managing of the revenues, he found (as he himself told me) all things out of order, full of robbery of officers, full of confusion, no treasure, no munition, no furniture for the king's houses, and the crown indebted three hundred millions—that is, three million pounds sterling; since then, that in February, 1608, he had acquitted one hundred and thirty millions of that debt, redeeming the most part of the revenues of the crown that were mortgaged; that he had brought good store of treasure into the Bastille, filled most of the arsenals with munition, furnished most of the king's houses with rich tapestry and other movables; and where the farms of the whole realm amounted then but to 800,000*l.* sterling, this year, 1609, he had let them out for 1,000,000*l.*, and that without exacting any more upon the people than was paid before, but only

by reducing that of the king's coffers which was embezzled by under-officers.

"Whether the prosecution of the Romish faction will at length remove him from the court is somewhat doubtful. But if it should happen, I suppose it would prove for your majesty's advantage, and that king's detriment. For not only the affairs of the revenues might perchance fall into disorder again, but the Protestants, both in that kingdom and abroad, would then fall into diffidence of the proceeding of that court when the council should be altogether Romish (whereas now they suppose nothing will be propounded to their subversion all the while he is there), and seek to fortify themselves by new intelligences and associations, the which happening, must necessarily make them fall (in regard of foreign forces) to a dependence upon your majesty, and likely enough would make them choose also a new head to depend upon in that realm, such as this king himself was in his predecessor's time. Besides, he is ever hammering upon building a navy for the sea, which, if he should effect, might prove an evil neighbour to your majesty's dominions. Again, upon colour of the project of the treaty that was made at his being in England, he is more opposed to the paying your majesty's debt (stretching the same treaty beyond all reasonable construction, because he made it himself) than any other who should come in his place would be.

"Touching the Protestants of France, they have no great aid or support from him, but he is as harsh and rough to them as to any others, and stoppeth little that supplanting of particulars which the king useth, but rather serveth among their body altogether for the king's ends. And touching his persisting so constantly in the profession of the Reformed religion, many doubt it proceedeth rather out of policy than out of conscience, seeing his life is nothing answerable to his profession, but full of incontinency, of oppression, and rapine for his own particular, as well as for his master's profit. His speech is full of immodesty and filthiness, even at his own table publicly; a scoffer and contemner of all respects of justice, which terms he both used to myself, and, as I hear, to many others of that king's subjects, telling them his master had placed him in his office to increase his revenue, and not to deliver justice. But because that he doubteth that, upon the king's death, the Count of Soissons, or other of his

enemies might persecute him, as, after Philip le Bel's death, Enguerrand de Marigny, who had the like power in France in money matters, and the like opposition with great men, was persecuted by Charles de Valois, who ceased not till he had caused Enguerrand, upon forged accusations, to be hanged in the Place de Grève at Paris; therefore, for his own safety, it behoveth him so to carry himself in the mean time, as he may then shroud himself among the party of the religion. Besides, he knoweth the king's timorous and suspicious nature so well, and hath such a predominant genius over his, as he shall better maintain his reputation and power with him in standing stiff upon his own terms than in making demonstration of fear or yielding.

"But talking with De Sully of this point myself, he attributed this his constancy to his own natural resolution, saying, 'Je ne démords jamais de ce que j'ay une fois résolu pour bon.' One great difference I observed between the chancellor and M. de Sully, the first having many good words, and deeds nothing answerable; and the other's deeds being rather better than worse than his words. De Sully is not void of learning, both of knowledge of Latin and other studies of humanity; but chiefly in arguing points of religion, wherein he is very ready and confident. But he most prizes himself for his military ableness, being offended when men ascribe the chiefest part of his sufficiency to the managing of the matters of the king's revenues and treasures. He hath sought heretofore to fortify himself in court by means of the queen and the house of Guise. But the chancellor growing more potent with the queen, he hath of late fallen in with the Marquise of Verneuil to terms of friendship, from that bitter opposition which was long between them. He hath also entertained intelligence long with the house of Guise; but their unthriftiness being like to ruin him, he by degrees falleth off from them. By alliances he hath strengthened himself with the two houses of Rohan and Ventadour, where he hath placed two daughters, and his son is bestowed with M. de Créquy's daughter, who shall have all the wealth of Lesdiguières, being very great. So that by that marriage, and his father's purchases, young Rosny is like to prove one of the chiefest subjects of France."

# OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

# ASSASSINATION OF HENRY IV.

One would imagine that upon a fact so public and so recent as the assassination of Henry IV. there would be found a perfect conformity in the histories and memoirs of that time; yet many of the contemporary writers do not agree either as to the number of the persons who were in the coach with this prince when he was assassinated, the wounds he received, nor many other circumstances no less essential. In order, therefore, to make this recital in a manner equally faithful and complete, it is necessary to collect and join together what has been said on this subject by Messieurs de Pèrefixe, Matthieu, L'Etoile, the continuator of De Thou, and the "French Mercury" for the year 1610.

"The night before this most unhappy day his majesty could take no rest, and was in continual uneasiness. In the morning he told those about him that he had not slept, and that he was very much disordered. Thereupon M. de Vendôme entreated his majesty to take care of himself that day, and not to go out; for that day was fatal to him. 'I see,' answered the king, 'that you have consulted the almanack, and have heard of the prediction of La Brosse from my cousin the Count of Soissons: he is an old fool, and you, who are young, have still less wisdom.' The Duke of Vendôme then went to the queen, who likewise begged the king not to go out of the Louvre that day; but he made her the same answer." (P. de l'Etoile.)

"His majesty afterwards went to hear mass at the convent of the Barnardine monks, whither the infamous parri-

cide followed him with an intention to murder him; and, as he has since confessed, would have given him the stroke in the chapel, but M. de Vendôme coming unexpectedly between, he was prevented." (Ibid.)

"It was observed that the king was more fervent than usual in his devotions, and continued longer in prayer that very day than he was accustomed to do; even in the night preceding it, when his attendants thought he was asleep, he was upon his knees in bed at prayer; and as soon as he rose, retiring to his closet for the same purpose, they, thinking he stayed longer than usual, interrupting him, he was angry. 'Why will these men,' said he, 'always oppose what is for my good?'" (Ibid.)

"After dinner, the king lay down upon his bed to try if he could sleep, but, not being able to rest, he got up again, pensive, melancholy, and disturbed. He walked a little about his chamber, and again threw himself upon his bed; still restless and unquiet, he rose and asked the exempt of the guard what hour of the day it was. The exempt told him the clock had struck four; and added, 'Sire, I perceive your majesty is pensive and uneasy, you would be better if you would take the air.' The king seemed pleased at this motion, and replied, 'You have advised well: order my coach to be got ready; I will go to the Arsenal to see the Duke of Sully, who is indisposed, and bathes to day.'" (Ibid.)

Matthieu, recounting his discourse both before and after dinner, adds, "He could not stay one moment in any place, nor conceal his irresolution and disorder; and, in the midst of those agitations, he said to the queen, 'I know not what to do: I have no great inclination to go to the Arsenal, because I shall put myself into a passion.' 'Do not go, then, sir,' said the queen; 'send some other thither. You are now in a good humour; why should you go to make yourself uneasy?' He went towards the window, and striking his forehead with his hand, 'My God!' said he, 'there is something here which strangely troubles me; I know not what is the matter; I cannot go from hence.' Ravaillac, hearing that he inquired if his coach was ready, muttered to himself: 'I have thee; thou art lost.'" (P. Matthieu.)

"As he was going into his coach, M. de Vitry approached, and asked his majesty if it was his pleasure that he should

attend him. 'No,' replied the king; 'but go whither I have ordered you.' 'Permit me, Sire,' said Vitry, 'to send the guards with your majesty.' 'No,' returned the king, 'I will neither have you nor your guards: I will have none about me.' Then entering his coach, and reflecting, as it is supposed, upon the fatal predictions of the day, which they had put into his head, he asked what day of the month it was. 'Sire,' said one, 'it is the 13th.' 'No,' said another, 'it is the 14th.' 'You are right,' said the king; 'you know your almanack better than he;' and, laughing, 'Between the 13th and 14th,' said he; and then ordered the coach to go on." (L'Etoile.)

"He said to the coachman, 'Carry me but from hence.' When he came over against the Hôtel de Longueville he sent back all his attendants, and, being asked where the coach should go, he said to the Croix du Tiroir; and when there, he ordered it to drive to the churchyard of the Innocents. Ravaillac stayed a long time at the Louvre, sitting upon the stones at the gate, where the footmen wait for their masters. He designed to have given the blow between the two gates, the place where he stood affording him some advantage; but he found the Duke of Epernon on that side where he thought the king would have been." (Matthieu.)

"This prince was seated on the back part of the coach, and, unfortunately (the weather being very fine), would have all the curtains drawn up, that he might see as he passed the preparations which were making all over the city for the queen's public entry. On his right hand sat the Duke of Epernon: the Marshals de Lavardin and Roquelaure were near the right boot of the coach; the Duke of Montbazon and the Marquis de la Force on his left hand, and near the left boot, opposite to him, sat the Marquis de Mirebeau, and Du Plessis-Liancourt, his first master of the horse. Vitry, the captain of his guards, had, by the king's order, gone to the palace to hasten the preparations for the queen's entry, and had left all the guards at the Louvre; so that his majesty was attended only by a small number of gentlemen on horseback and some of his footmen." (Pèrefixe, Matthieu, L'Etoile, N. Rigault, ibid.)

"The coach turned from the street St. Honoré into that

called Féronnerie, which was then very narrow, and made more so by the little shops erected against the wall of the churchyard of the Innocents. A little embarrassment was occasioned by the meeting of two carts, one laden with wine the other with hay, so that the coach was obliged to stop in a corner of the street, over against the study of a certain notary whose name was Poutrain. The footmen took a nearer way, that they might with less difficulty come up with the coach at the end of the street; so that there were only two which followed the coach, and one of these went to make way for it to go on, while the other in the mean time took that opportunity to fasten his garter." (Ibid.)

"Ravaillac, who had followed the coach from the Louvre, perceiving that it stopped, and that there was no person near it, advanced to that side where he observed the king sat. His cloak being wrapped round his left arm, served to conceal the knife which he held in his hand; and, sliding between the shops and the coach, as if he was attempting to pass by like others, he supported one foot upon one of the spokes of the wheel, and the other upon a stone, and drawing a knife edged on both sides, gave the king a wound a little above the heart, between the third and fourth ribs. His majesty had just then turned towards the Duke of Epernon, and was reading a letter; or, as others say, leaning towards the Marshal Lavardine, to whom he was whispering. Henry, feeling himself struck, cried out, 'I am wounded!' and in the same instant the assassin, perceiving that the point of his knife had been stopped by a rib, repeated the blow with such quickness, that not one of those who were in the coach had time to oppose or even to perceive it. Henry, by raising his arm, gave a fair aim for the second blow, which, according to Pèrefixe and L'Etoile, went directly to his heart; and, according to Rigault and the 'French Mercury,' near the auricle of the heart; so that the blood gushing out of his mouth, and from his wound, the unhappy prince expired, breathing a deep sigh; or, as Matthieu asserts, pronouncing, with a faint and dying voice, these words, 'It is nothing.' The murderer aimed a third stroke at him, which the Duke of Epernon received in his sleeve." (Ibid.)

It is the opinion of the author of the "French Mercury"

that Henry IV. died at the first blow, "which," he says, "entering between the fifth and sixth ribs, pierced the vein within, round the auricle of the heart, and reached to the *vena cava*, which, being cut, that great prince was in an instant deprived of speech and life. The first stroke only grazed the skin, and made no impression." (French Mercury.)

The writer who has given us the Life of the Duke of Epernon thinks, it must be confessed, in a manner very singular. He asserts, but without any proof to support his assertion, that the Duke of Epernon, who saw the second blow aimed at the king, raised his arm to parry it, and received it, in part, upon the sleeve of his coat, which was cut. He doubtless meant to exalt his hero by relating this circumstance; but certainly he judged ill to add that the assassin, after his second blow, had time to strike a third, more dangerous than the second, and that the king received it full. Strange! that the Duke of Epernon should so plainly perceive the first of these blows as to be able to parry it in part from himself and the rest who were in the coach, and yet could not prevent the following blow. The historian here has proved too much; and but that, happily for him, it is easy to convict him of his error, his account might well be turned into an accusation of the Duke of Epernon. (Life of the Duke of Epernon, part ii. page 238.)

"It is a most amazing thing, that not one of the lords who were in the coach with the king should have seen the assassin give the blow; and if that infernal monster had thrown away his knife, they would not have known whom to charge with it. But he still held it in his hand, as if to show it; and gloried in the greatest and most horrid of all assassinations that ever was perpetrated." Pèrefixe says the same; and this conduct of Ravaillac is more conformable to the character we have of him than what the continuator of De Thou relates: "That it was the extreme agitation and disorder of his mind which prevented him flying or dropping the poniard." "He confessed," says Matthieu, "that he struck his knife into the king's body as into a bottle of hay." (L'Etoile, ibid.)

"The six lords who were in the coach got out immediately

with such precipitation that they hindered each other from seizing the parricide. One of them perceiving that the king spoke no more, and that the blood came gushing from his mouth, cried out, 'The king is dead!' These words immediately occasioned a great tumult. The people who were in the streets threw themselves into the nearest shops, one upon another, with such terror and dismay, as if the city had been taken. The Duke of Epernon suddenly bethought himself of saying that the king was only wounded, and had fallen into a swoon. They desired some wine; and while some of the inhabitants ran eagerly to get it, they shut up the coach doors, and told the people that the king was only wounded, and that they were carrying him in haste to the Louvre to get his wound dressed." (French Mercury, ibid.).

"I ran like one deprived of reason, and mounting the first horse I found, galloped to the Louvre. When I came to the Hôtel de Longueville, I met M. de Belancourt returning from the Louvre, who said to me, 'He is dead.' I rode on as far as the rails, where the French and Swiss guards were then placed—their pikes lowered. M. Le Grand and I got through, and ran to the king's closet, and saw him extended on his bed. M. de Vic, councillor of state, was sitting by him on the same bed, and had laid his cross of the order upon his mouth, putting him in mind of God. Milon, his first physician, was sitting near the bedside, weeping, and the surgeons who attended to dress his wound; but he was already dead. We fancied we heard him sigh, but it was only wind; upon which the first physician cried out, 'Ah! it is over: he is gone!' M. Le Grand, as soon as he entered, kneeled at the side of the bed, and held one of his hands, which he kissed. As for me, I threw myself at his feet, which I held embraced, weeping bitterly. M. de Guise came in also, and embraced him," &c. (Memoirs of Bassompierre, vol. i. p. 297.)

"The queen was in her closet when this sad news was brought to her, and, wild with grief, came out immediately to see him whom she honoured most in the world, deprived of life; but the chancellor, who was then in council, and had heard the news there, going up to her apartment, met her as she was coming out, and stopped her. 'Alas!' said she, as

soon as she saw him, 'the king is dead.' He, without betraying any emotion, replied, 'Your majesty must pardon me, the kings of France never die.' Then entreating her to return to her closet, 'We must take care,' said he to her, 'that our tears do not ruin our affairs; we must reserve them for another time: we have need of remedies and not of grief.'" (French Mercury, ibid.)

"At five o'clock in the evening it was nowhere certainly known, except at the Louvre, that the king was dead, not even in the quarter of the Féronnerie, where he was killed: they thought he had been wounded only. The report reached the Augustins before audience was over: the noise and confused murmurs of the persons who came into the court opposite to the hall of the great chamber increased every moment, and at length reached the ears of M. de Blancmesnil, second president of the great chamber, who was at that time hearing a cause pleaded in the hall. Struck with this noise, he rose up as if to collect the opinions of the judges upon it; but instead of speaking to them on this subject, he went back to the great chamber. The rest, persuaded that this noise was occasioned by some fatal accident, rose from their seats, and broke off the pleadings. Immediately they sent for the king's councillors of parliament, and deputed them to the Louvre to know the state of affairs, and the will of his majesty. In the mean time, the princes, dukes, and great lords who were at Paris, hastened to the Louvre to attend the king as usual. The Sieur de Vitry was ordered to assemble all the deceased king's children in a chamber, particularly the young king, and to suffer no one to approach them. The Dukes of Guise and Epernon were directed to get as many of the nobility as they could find to mount their horses and ride through the city, and tell the people that the king was not dead, but only wounded. Le Jay, lieutenant civil, and Sanguin, the lord mayor, had orders to shut all the city gates, to possess themselves of the keys, raise all their officers, and to prevent all commotions and mobs in the city. The guards which were in the suburbs received orders to come and post themselves upon the Pont Neuf, in the street Dauphiny, and near the Augustins, in order to surround the parliament, and to force them, if necessary, to declare the queen regent. The king's councillors

of the parliament, returning from the Louvre to the Arsenal, found the first president there, who had been brought in a chair, to whom, and to the chambers assembled, having confirmed the report of the king's death, they began to consult upon the request brought them by the king's councillors. M. de Guise and M. d'Epernon came afterwards into the great chamber, being sent by the queen to see what was doing there," &c. (L'Etoile, Pèrefixe, ibid.)

"About nine o'clock the same night, a great number of the lords rode through the city, and, as they passed, said to the people, 'The king is coming; he is well, God be thanked for it!' It being night, the people thought the king was in that company, and cried aloud, 'Vive le roi!' This cry spreading from one quarter to another, the whole city resounded with 'Vive le roi!' It was only in the quarter of the Louvre, and that of the Augustins, where the truth was known." (Ibid.)

"At night they dressed the king's body, and washed him with the same ceremony as if he had been alive. M. du Maine gave him his shirt, M. le Grand served him, and I likewise was ordered to serve him, and to represent M. de Bouillon." (M. Bassompierre, ibid.)

"Saturday, May the 15th, the king's body was opened in the presence of six-and-twenty physicians and surgeons; all the parts of which were found to be in so good a state, that, according to the course of nature, they judged he might have lived thirty years longer. His heart was small, but thick, and of a close texture, and surprisingly sound; his stomach, as the physicians and surgeons said, was the strongest that had been ever seen; his lungs were grown a little to his left side." (Bassompierre, ibid.)

"His entrails were sent immediately to St. Denis, without any pomp. The Jesuits demanded the heart, which they interred in their chapel of La Flèche; the body, embalmed and laid in a leaden coffin, enclosed in another of wood, and covered with cloth of gold, was placed under a canopy in the king's chamber, with two altars on each side, at which mass was said during eighteen days successively; after which it was carried to St. Denis," &c. (Pèrefixe, ibid.)

See in the same historians several other interesting particulars, as well with respect to what passed in the parlia-

ment and in different parts of Paris, as upon the funeral ceremony observed on this occasion. Upon this last article consult also the royal MSS. vol. 9361.

The memoirs of that time afford a great number of observations and curious particulars relating to the assassination of Henry IV., which we cannot dispense with ourselves from annexing to these Memoirs. The number and diversity of them is all that perplexes us; for with respect to the persons who are concerned in them, namely, the Jesuits, the Duke of Epernon, and several of the principal lords of the kingdom, the Marchioness of Verneuil, and the party supposed to be headed by her, the officers of the queen's household, and many others, these circumstances are so far from doing any injury to their memories, that it will be readily granted their interest requires that they should neither be suppressed nor disguised; for, since all the malignity of their enemies have never been able to prove one single fact against them, it necessarily follows that what has been said was mere calumny, invented by wicked and designing persons.

One general remark, and which is equally applicable to all, is sufficient to prove what I have asserted, that those accusations were founded on calumny only—and this is, that Ravaillac never accused, or gave the least room for suspecting, that any of those persons were concerned in the king's assassination. He constantly maintained that no one was privy to his design, which he had conceived upon being told that the king was going to make war upon the pope. He never varied from this declaration, and when he was put to the torture he said the same as he had done at his trial. The most dreadful pains could not force him to alter his deposition; he protested, and repeated this protestation upon the scaffold, that he never had either an accomplice or confidant. "When he was ready to expire, he turned to his confessor, and desired he would give him absolution, for he had no more to say. This the priest refused, telling him that it was forbidden to those who, like him, had been guilty of high treason, unless he disclosed his accomplices. 'Give it me,' said Ravaillac, 'upon condition that the declaration I have made, that I had no accomplices, be true.' 'I will give it you upon that condition,' replied the confessor; 'but assure yourself, if you tell a lie in these moments, your soul, at its

separation from your body, will be carried directly to hell.' 'I accept and receive it upon that condition,' said Ravaillac. And these were the last words he spoke to Messieurs de Fillesac and Gamache, two men of great candour and honesty, and the most able doctors of the Sorbonne." Words which deserve great notice, since they are recorded by him who, of all the writers on this subject, has shown most prejudice and malice. (Memoirs for a History of France, p. 323.)

After this decisive remark, I shall begin with what relates to the Jesuits, who have been less spared than any of the others, and whom our author, in his Memoirs, attacks the first, though he does not name them. But here I think myself obliged to relate what appears a very singular confession in a great critic, who professes that he does not fear the society, and will spare no one whatever. "I had the curiosity," says he, "to read the answer made by the Jesuits to the accusations of their enemies, their reply to that, and the Jesuits' further vindication of themselves; and it appeared to me, that in many cases their accusers were at a loss, which persuades me that many things have been charged upon them for which there were no proofs, but easily believed at the instigation of prejudiced persons." In effect, there is nothing more solid, or better founded, in the declamations of Morizot and a great number of anonymous writers. (Bayle's Select Letters, vol. i. letter 230.)

I shall now proceed to the examination of some words, attributed to a Jesuit in a conference with Ravaillac: "My friend, do not accuse good men." "Father Cotton went likewise to Ravaillac, and bid him take care of accusing the innocent; words which did not pass unnoticed. He afterwards would have persuaded him, if he could, that he was a Protestant, saying, that he could never believe that a Roman Catholic was capable of committing so horrid an action; but Ravaillac derided Father Cotton, though a Jesuit, as well as the rest, whom he sent away with jests and pleasantry. 'You would be astonished,' said he to some of them who were questioning him, 'if I should tell you that it was you yourself who set me on.' He did not say this to Father Cotton; for, wicked as he was, he had some scruples of conscience remaining that would not suffer him to slander the

brothers of the society." (Journal of the Reign of Henry IV., anno 1610.)

Peter Matthieu, in his particular History of the Death of Henry IV., p. 116, says, "That the queen, believing if the inhuman parricide could be led to repent of his crime, he would more freely own who they were that urged him to commit it, thought it necessary that he should be visited by the doctors and clergy, who might put his mind into such a frame, that he would have greater fears of eternal than temporal torments." Father Cotton therefore might be of the number of these ecclesiastics; but the author does not mention him in particular, and is wholly silent with respect to the words which have been attributed to him. He does not tell us that this father, when he accosted Ravaillac, called him "my friend." The Prior of Orleans says not a word of this fact in his Life of Father Cotton, where it was natural for him to mention it, and where he has been as particular, with respect to this father, as Matthieu has been in everything relating to the death of Henry the Great.

"Two circumstances," says Mezerai, "were observed, of which the reader may judge as he pleases; one was, that when Ravaillac was seized, seven or eight men came up to him with swords in their hands, and said loudly that he ought to be slain directly; but they immediately concealed themselves in the crowd. The other, that the parricide was not carried to prison at first, but was put into the hands of Montigny, and remained two days in the Hôtel de Retz, where he was so carelessly guarded that all sorts of people were allowed to speak to him. Among others, an ecclesiastic, who had received great obligations from the deceased king, accosted him, called him 'friend,' and bid him take care not to accuse good men." Mezerai, it is plain, has copied the first of these observations from P. Matthieu, who says that it was the Baron de Courtaumar, who, drawing his sword against those men, forced them to shelter themselves in the crowd; but I do not see what inference is to be drawn from the former of those two facts related by Mezerai, except that those men, transported with rage and grief for the death of the best of kings, were eager to punish the impious assassin; and as for the other fact, after what has been just said in the foregoing remark, it must be allowed to be very doubtful

and hazardous, upon a supposition, that by the ecclesiastic who had great obligations to the king the author means Father Cotton; but indeed, if this father did go to see Ravaillac, and if he really said those words, "My friend, do not accuse good men," what ought to be inferred from an expression of gentleness and Christian charity, which neither directly nor indirectly presents anything criminal to the mind? (Abr. Hist. and Chron., vol. iii. p. 1450.)

Here follows, what is still, in different writings, to be found against the Jesuits on this occasion: "Father Daubigny, who had confessed Ravaillac, was privately interrogated by the first president upon the secret confession, but he could draw nothing from him except this: 'That God, who to some men had given the gift of languages, to others the gift of prophecy, revelation, &c., had on him bestowed the gift of forgetfulness of confessions. Moreover,' added he, 'we, who are ecclesiastics, know nothing of the world; we do not mix in its affairs, nor heed what passes in it.' 'Rather,' replied the first president, 'you know too much, and are too far concerned in its business: and, if you were not more so than you own you are, things had gone better.'" (Memoirs for a History of France, ib. p. 320, 321.)

These last circumstances relating to Father Daubigny are certainly the most severe of all that have been urged against the Jesuits. It was well known that Ravaillac, in his depositions, acknowledged that he was acquainted with this Jesuit; that he had been present when he said mass; that he had imparted to him his visions, the trouble of his mind, &c. He was confronted with this father, who maintained to Ravaillac himself that he had never seen him, and that all he had said concerning him was false. The "French Mercury," far more deserving to be credited than any of the writers I have quoted, because the author speaks so fully and with so much clearness of this affair, that one sees, in a manner, the whole proceedings of the trial, he, after giving a minute account of every circumstance of their examination, adds: "Father Daubigny said to Ravaillac that he was very wicked; and that, after perpetrating so horrid a fact, he ought not to accuse any one falsely, nor add to the number of his sins. Ravaillac being told that if he had any charge to bring against Father Daubigny, he must do it then, replied

that he had not any; that he looked upon him to be an honest man, and a good priest, and that he would believe him. In like manner the said Daubigny, having notice given him to make his objections against the witness, and that, according to the ordinance, he would not be admitted to make them if not immediately, he said he had no more to say, but that he was a wicked man, and a most audacious liar." (French Mercury, anno 1610.)

Ravaillac's silence to these reproaches may well pass for a conviction of the calumny. This circumstance of the trial may be seen at large in the book itself. Matthieu says it was Servin, the king's advocate, who interrogated Father Daubigny, and that this was the answer: "That ever since he had, by the orders of his superiors, quitted preaching to apply himself wholly to hearing confessions, God had bestowed the singular grace upon him of effacing immediately from his memory whatever was said to him under the seal of confession." But this writer, though an enemy to the Jesuits, does not mention the first president's malicious reply to him; and doubtless he is more deserving of belief than the Memoirs for the History of France, because he was living at that time, and was most particularly interested in the memory of Henry IV., who had honoured him with his favour. Pasquier, the great enemy of the Jesuits, by not accusing them of anything, shows plainly enough that he believed them innocent. (History of Henry IV., ib. Letters of Nicholas Pasquier.)

"On Sunday, May 23, Father Portugais, a Cordelier, and some curates of Paris—among others, the curates of the parishes of St. Bartholomew and St. Paul—in dark ambiguous words, and hints scarcely intelligible, taxed the Jesuits with being accomplices in the king's assassination, arguing against them from their own books and writings—namely, those of Mariana and Becanus. It was also proposed," says the same author whom I now quote, "to forbid the Jesuits the public pulpits. However, they went no further than to order Mariana's book to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, which was done accordingly, June 8, before the church of Notre Dame. This book openly defended the deed of Brother Clément, and has been twice printed; the first time in folio, the second in octavo. In the first edition

he calls this brother *æternum Gallæ decus;* but these three words are left out in the second edition, which I have before me." (Memoirs for the History of France, ib. p. 325.)

If all the authors who have written upon the same principles with those of Mariana and Becanus were to be accused of having contributed to the king's murder, "a criminal process might be entered against John Petit, a doctor of the Sorbonne, whose opinions were rejected by the Council of Constance; likewise against the celebrated John Gerson, James Almain, Richer, John Boucher, of the same college and society. Can they be ignorant that an extraordinary assembly was held among the doctors of the Sorbonne, to proceed to the apotheosis of James Clément, the assassinator of Henry III., and that among that great number of doctors which composed the assembly, only one, named John Poitevin, was against it? In those miserable times, a furious hatred and misguided zeal extinguished the natural lights of reason; and, however revolting that doctrine might be which teaches that it is sometimes lawful to murder kings, however opposite to Scripture and reason, yet to the shame of humanity and the disgrace of religion, that doctrine prevailed. Mariana, a Spanish Jesuit, in a book entitled "De Rege et Regis Institutione," held, in effect, that it was sometimes allowable to murder tyrants, though elsewhere he teaches that a lawful prince cannot be killed or deprived of his authority by an individual. The enemies of the Jesuits advance, that it was from this book that Ravaillac had taken his first lesson, which he practised but too well. It is certain, however, that he never read the book, knew nothing of it, and did not understand Latin well enough to read it; but these reasonings are the effects of passion and prejudice. Father Aquaviva, to hinder the rashness of some writers from raising such calumnies against the Jesuits for the future, on the 8th of July forbade all the subjects of the society, upon pain of being excommunicated and suspended from exercising any of the sacred functions, to speak or write anything which could authorise in any manner, or under any pretence, the parricide of kings, whom, by the law of God, says he, we are commanded to honour and respect, as sacred persons placed by his hands upon the throne." (Chronol. and Dogm. vol. i. p. 115, and following.)

What is here said of Mariana may with equal justice be applied to Becanus. But, among all these accusations, I see only one in which there is any probability, which is that drawn from the book of this Spanish Jesuit, condemned by the parliament as being capable of arming subjects against their sovereign. But in reality what ought to be inferred from thence to the prejudice of the French Jesuits? What proofs could a book furnish against them, which was written by a foreigner, and in the year 1606 publicly condemned as a most pernicious piece, and even rejected by the Jesuits themselves?

"The queen, who was desirous that Father Cotton and the Abbé du Bois, the declared enemy of that father and the whole society, should be reconciled, permitted him to have a conference with that abbé, which lasted four hours, at the house of the lieutenant civil; but not being able to agree, Father Cotton, to take him at some disadvantage, at length asked him if he thought the Jesuits had been the cause of the late king's assassination, and if he believed that he had killed him. 'No,' replied the Abbé du Bois, 'for, if I thought so, I would this instant,' said he, swearing a great oath, 'hoist you up by the throat and strangle you, and then throw you out of the window.' Father Cotton afterwards asked him if the Jesuits were not Catholics. 'Oh yes,' answered he, 'such Catholics as the devil is.'" (Journal of the Reign of Henry IV., by P. l'Etoile, p. 233.)

"On Tuesday, May 25, there was a quarrel between M. de Loménie and Father Cotton, in full council. Loménie told him, that it was he and his secretary who had murdered the king; whereupon, the members of the council representing to him that he ought to be more moderate in his expressions, he said, that his grief for the death of his good master might force him into some intemperance of language, but that he spoke only in the queen's presence. At the same time, Beringhen quarrelled with De Lorme, first physician to the queen, who supported the Jesuits, and said things as severe to him as Loménie had done to Father Cotton." (Ibid. p. 260.)

Is it surprising that persons under the influence of passion, and in those moments when they suffer themselves to be carried away by their conjectures, prejudices, and particular

enmities, should utter invectives, and make reproaches which they cannot prove? At such times they often say things which they do not believe, and which, when their reason is less clouded, they inwardly disavow.

John du Bois, Abbé of Beaulieu, being a short time after obliged to quit the kingdom, was arrested at Rome, and put into the prisons of the Inquisition, either at the suit of the Jesuits or of the procurator-general of the Celestin monks; for he had formerly been of that order, and quitted it without giving an account of the money which had been deposited in his hands. He had afterwards borne arms and distinguished himself in the service of Henry III., who used to call him the emperor of the monks: after that, he resumed the ecclesiastic habit, and was celebrated for his preaching. Whatever was the cause, he was detained in those prisons till 1626, in which year he died, a few days after he was restored to his liberty by Pope Gregory XV. (Memoirs for a History of France, French Mercury, and Moreri.)

In L'Etoile, La Varenne makes a very singular speech to the Jesuits at his return from La Flèche, whither he had accompanied them in the ceremony of bearing the king's heart to their chapel. Having entertained them all, to the number of twenty-four, at dinner, he continued his discourse to them (the former part of which had been pretty severe) in this manner: "I will not scruple to tell you," said he, "that there is a very bad report concerning you circulated in this city, which has come to my ears; that there are among you some who were abettors of, and accomplices in, the wicked assassination of the deceased king. Hitherto I have not believed it; but if I should ever happen to discover anything against you, I declare that I will have you all seized, and hang you, one after the other, in my stables." Such was La Varenne's harangue to the Jesuits; but it was time, say they, to shut the stable-door when the steed was stolen. (Ibid. p. 176.)

As this speech of La Varenne is not mentioned in any of the best authors of his time, there is good reason to think it one of those idle and ridiculous tales fit to amuse the populace, and gratify the malice and prejudice of an enemy who finds reason and probability in everything that is conformable to his passion.

The same author, speaking of the provost-marshal of Plu-

viers, says, that he had two sons who were both Jesuits, and endeavours to prove that they were accessory to the king's assassination; but it is evident that nothing could be more unjust than the reasonings of this writer, or more false than his conclusions, with respect to the Provost of Pluviers: for why, indeed, should it be asserted that the Jesuits were in a combination with that provost because he had two sons in the society? It would not follow from thence that they had contributed to Ravaillac's crime, unless it could be proved, which it is impossible to do, that the provost hanged himself through his fear of falling into the hands of justice, for having, in concert with the Jesuits, endeavoured to inspire Ravaillac with a resolution to complete his horrid design: but this base calumny is refuted by the "French Mercury," which, after observing that all that had been said against the Jesuits had been taken from L'Anti-Cotton, the Thanks of the Butter-woman, and such-like writings, says, "They ought surely, to agree in their satires, since they all proceed from the same mouth. Of these two books, the first was not printed till the middle of September, and the other towards the end of October; and it was always thought that this provost hanged himself because instruments for coining had been found upon him, he having practised the art of coining, and been guilty of other crimes in his office, for which he knew he could not avoid death; and not for the above-mentioned accusation, which was raised against him at the instigation of his enemies." (French Mercury, anno 1610.)

That very observation, that nothing was alleged against the Jesuits, at that time, which was not taken from the most contemptible libels, is alone a sufficient answer to all other calumnies of that nature; and after some words which escaped one of the most furious enemies this society ever had, it ought no longer to be doubted. "The Anti-Jesuit," says he, "appeared about that time, and, except low abuse, it will be found to contain nothing. The author was a young man named Bonestat. The factor of Guillemot was imprisoned for it. The Catholicon of Saumur appeared likewise; a work made up of bad and good." (Letter, ibid.)

La Barillière, who is a free speaker, meeting two Jesuits some days after the king's assassination, "Gentlemen," said he, "I think you are Jesuits: there is a merchant of Châtel-

lerault who has very good knives to sell; perhaps you may find some that will suit you." This is not a proof, but a witticism, which pleases not on account of the truth there is in it, but for its malicious and satirical turn. (Memoirs for a History of France, ib. 353.)

"Divray, a clerk of the court, told one of my friends the next day, that as they were conducting Mademoiselle Coman, the same who has been formerly mentioned, before the council, she said to him, 'I revealed to the Jesuits, in confession, all I knew of this conspiracy, and they entreated me not to mention it.'" Certainly the Jesuits were greatly concerned in what this girl alleged: how comes it, then, that the writers of those times, who have been so particular in their relations, have taken no notice of this circumstance? (Ibid. p. 358.)

Nor is it less easy to refute the following citations against the several persons we have named; indeed, they carry their refutation along with them, by comprehending, in the same accusation, persons who were not only without connexion of friendship or interest, but were declared enemies, and publicly known to be such,—I mean the queen and the Marchioness of Verneuil, and their partisans: for the same reason, therefore, we think ourselves dispensed with from joining to each quotation reflections which would greatly swell these Observations, and which must necessarily occur to every judicious reader.

"The Sunday before the Friday on which the king was murdered, being the 9th of May, this soldier, a wicked, lewd fellow, and who (says the author a few lines above) had formerly been a priest, met the widow of Captain Saint Matthieu, a Huguenot, a little beyond the gate St. Antony, on the road from Charenton, and knowing her, he accosted her, and, after some discourse, asked her if she still lived in Paris. She told him she did. 'And what are you doing there so long?' said the soldier. 'Doing!' she replied, 'I have a great deal of business to transact.' 'Faith,' returned he, 'if I was in your place, no lawsuit or business whatever should keep me there; and it is because I wish you well that I advise you to get out of Paris.' 'But why do you wish me out of Paris?' said she. 'Because,' resumed the soldier, 'before eight days are past, it is in danger of suffering so great a disaster, that happy will it be for them who are at a

distance from it. I therefore advise you, as a friend, to quit Paris as soon as possible, and believe what I say to you.' When they came to the entry of the church, where the sermon was not yet begun, the soldier said he would not hear the sermon. 'But,' said he, laughing, 'I will go and examine the disposition of your guards, who are a multitude of poor miserable wretches, ranged on each side like two hedges.' Then, looking at them, 'Behold those lame stragglers,' said he to this woman, 'which we are accustomed to see in Paris at the entrance of our churches; do you not observe those soldiers who are amongst them? I know them every one; they are all robbers; four of them in particular, whom I see there, are destined for four terrible exploits: but the wickedest, and most determined of them all, I do not see.' Saying this, he took leave of the woman, and went away. Upon the Friday following, when the king was assassinated, she began to reflect upon what the soldier had said to her, and the Sunday after, being in doubt whether she ought to go to Charenton, hearing that others had set the example, she resolved to follow it, and upon the road again met the soldier, to whom, in great surprise, she said, 'I think you are a prophet; I shall believe you another time: but I hope we shall suffer no more.' 'This is nothing yet,' said the soldier; 'all is not over; there are other strokes to follow this, equally wicked, and much more dangerous; and, since you are resolved to believe me for the future, take my counsel, and leave your abode as soon as possible.'

"Upon giving immediate information of this discourse to the ministers of the church, among others to M. Durand, he procured her, by means of one of his friends, access to M. Defunctis, who having heard what she had to say, and got intelligence from her where this soldier dwelt, and at what hour he might be spoken with, he went to his lodgings at ten o'clock at night, and seizing him without any difficulty, lodged him in a place of security. The great probability there was in this story made many persons hope that at length there would be a full discovery of this deplored and most abominable enterprise, if the vile methods of proceeding used in the affair had not destroyed all the good effects that might have been expected from the discoveries already made; but such was the conduct observed in it, that one

would imagine we were afraid of showing ourselves too severe and exact in searching into a crime the most barbarous and most wicked that has ever been perpetrated in Europe for upwards of a thousand years." (L'Etoile's Journal, page 150, and following.)

"Tuesday, May 18, the court being assembled, deliberated upon the forms and proceedings to be used in the trial and condemnation of that most detestable parricide and assassin of his king, Francis Ravaillac; but it was more especially considered in this assembly what tortures should be used to extort a confession from this miserable wretch. It was resolved that he should be put to extraordinary tortures; and those of the most cruel kind, even foreign ones, were proposed, and, among others, that of Geneva, which was called the *barathe*, or *beurrière*, a torture so violent that it is said none on whom it was tried but was forced by it to confess. Upon this the opinions of the assembly were divided; the oldest and the best approved of its being tried; the others, wavering between both, and apt to change their opinions every moment, resolved upon nothing; therefore most of those who were only determined by gain, having given their votes, *in mitiorem* (*seu deteriorem*), carried the vote that day by a great majority." (Ibid. p. 154.)

"According to the said arrêt, he was put to the torture in order to oblige him to reveal his accomplices: what passed is still a secret to all but the court." (French Mercury, anno 1616, fol. 454.)

"A certain infamous fellow, having publicly railed at the deceased king and praised Ravaillac, saying that he had performed a noble act, was seized and brought prisoner to Paris. The informations against him, as those against Maçon, were laid before the chancellor, but have still remained a secret; nor has there been any mention made of bringing them to justice." (Memoirs for the History of France, vol. ii. p. 324.)

"When the assassin was brought to the place of punishment, and upon the point of being torn in pieces by the horses, observing that a certain man who was near the scaffold had alighted from his horse, to put it in the place of one which had been tired with dragging him: 'They deceived me,' said he, 'when they told me that the action I was going to commit would be pleasing to the people, since they them-

selves furnish horses to tear me in pieces.' A proof (adds the author in the margin) that he had been incited by some persons to commit that execrable act, and that he had accomplices." (Ibid. p. 322.)

Here follows what relates to the Provost of Pluviers: "The Provost of Pluviers, or Pithiviers, a city in Beauce, distant about two days' journey from Paris, was accused of having said, the same day that the king was murdered, 'This day the king is either slain or wounded.' Being brought prisoner to Paris, he was found dead in the prison, strangled with the strings of his drawers. He was hanged by the feet in the Grève, on the 19th of June." (French Mercury, anno 1610.)

L'Etoile, after relating the same fact, adds the following circumstances: "This infamous man, whose wickedness was publicly known, and who had two sons of the order of the Jesuits, *quod notandum*, acknowledged by every one to be a very bad subject to the king, but a good servant to the family of Entragues and the Marchioness of Verneuil, and known to be a rogue and extortioner, was accused of having said, in Pluviers, while he was playing, or looking upon others who were playing, at bowls, in a garden, at the very time the king was murdered, 'The king is just now murdered: he is dead, depend upon it;' and, some days before, he had used words to the same purpose, or very near it, which were not taken notice of till the thing happened, which made them believe that the old villain knew something of the enterprise, and was one of the accomplices of that vile assassin; so that, being carefully watched and eagerly pursued, he was at length taken and brought to Paris, where he was confined in the Conciergerie du Palais, where, a short time afterwards, to their great astonishment, they found him dead, being strangled with the strings of his drawers. The parliament had him tried, though dead, and found him guilty of the crime of high treason; but, after all, 'dead men tell no tales,' which was what they wanted; for, if he had spoken, he might have said too much for the honour and advantage of many persons whom they had no inclination to hurt. This was what was believed by all the people about Pluviers, who used to exclaim, 'Good God! how fortunate is the death of this wicked man for M. d'Entragues, the Marchioness of

Verneuil his daughter, and the whole family.' Upon this miserable wretch was found a tool and an instrument made use of in coining, called a mould. It was said that he had been guilty of that practice; but this instrument was found to be a tool for breaking iron gates and bars of iron, even of the largest size, like those in the Bastille, in order to get the Count of Auvergne from thence." (Journal of the Reign of Henry IV., p. 183.)

"The queen sent for Durat, the physician, a man whom the king detested, and would never suffer in his presence, and even forbid the queen to employ; she, however, retained him for her physician, made him one of her council, with large appointments, and all to oblige Conchini, who, it was said, bore with great fortitude the death of the king." In the margin it is written, "The public were persuaded that his wife and he had greatly contributed to the king's assassination." (Memoirs for the History of France, vol. ii. p. 309.)

"On Sunday, January the 30th, the Marchioness of Verneuil was, upon the depositions of Mademoiselle Coman, interrogated by the first president at his house. Her examination lasted from one o'clock in the afternoon till five. She is thus called, Henrietta de Balzac d'Entragues, Marchioness of Verneuil, mistress to King Henry IV. She was accused by La Coman, yet was decreed to be heard but once, although the affair was the king's assassination, and the crime high treason." (Ibid. p. 358.)

"The next day the queen sent a gentleman to the first president, to desire he would send her his opinion concerning this process, to whom the good man replied, 'You may tell the queen that God has reserved me to live in an age to see and hear things so strange as I never thought I could have heard or seen.' One of his friends and mine saying to him that it was almost the general opinion that this young woman, by her accusing so many persons, and of the highest rank in the kingdom, spoke at random and without any proofs, the first president, raising his eyes to heaven and shrugging up his shoulders, replied, 'There are but too many, there are but too many.'" (Ibid.)

"Monsieur d'Epernon, at the same time, who was most interested in this affair, and who eagerly pushed on the process against this girl, that she might be put to death, went

generally for that purpose to the council, and made a visit to the first president to hear what had passed; but that gentleman, with his accustomed gravity and asperity of countenance, which those especially whom he did not like were sure to meet with from him, repulsed him disdainfully, saying, 'I am not your newsmonger, but your judge.' The duke telling him that he asked him as a friend, 'I have no friends,' replied the president; 'I will do you justice: be satisfied with that.' M. d'Epernon returning in great discontent, went and complained to the queen, who immediately despatched a messenger to the first president, to tell him that she had been informed he had treated the Duke of Epernon ill, and that it was her desire he should for the future behave with more respect to him, in consideration of his high quality. To this the first president replied, 'I have been a judge fifty years, thirty of which I have had the honour to preside in the sovereign court of the peers of this kingdom, and during that time I never saw any lord, duke, or peer, of what quality soever, who was accused of high treason, who came before his judges booted and spurred, as M. d'Epernon has done, and with his sword by his side. Do not fail to tell the queen this.' This was a freedom becoming a first president. I should not record this speech of his here if I did not certainly know it to be true."

"If it be asked," says M. de Pèrefixe, "who were the furies, the fiends, that suggested to him so damnable a design, and urged him to carry it into execution, history replies that it is ignorant, and that upon an action of such consequence, it is not allowable to give suspicions and conjectures for certain truths; the judges themselves, who interrogated the criminal, durst not open their mouths, and never mentioned it but with gestures of horror and astonishment." (Pèrefixe's History of Henry the Great, part iii. p. 410.)

The continuator of De Thou's Latin History says, that two different opinions prevailed upon this subject; some were persuaded that the assassination of Henry IV. was the work of some great lords of the kingdom, who sacrificed this prince to their ancient resentment; others believed that it was Spain who struck this blow by the partisans she had in France; and this writer adds, that the president De Thou, and the ablest heads in the parliament, were of this latter

opinion. He likewise mentions letters from Brussels, Antwerp, Malines, and Bolduc, before the 15th of May, which expressed that it was commonly reported in those provinces that Henry IV. had been murdered. (Nic. Rigalt, anno 1610, vol. vi. p. 492.)

That passage from L'Etoile, which I quoted a little before, may, if granted to be of any authority, give room for a third opinion, namely, that this plot, or rather all these different plots, were to end in a rebellion, and even a kind of second massacre in Paris; and that this was not executed, because the conspirators seeing the king dead, which was the great and principal object they had in view, thought it needless to proceed any further.

And here I cannot dispense with myself from mentioning some writings, which may be found in the fourth volume of L'Etoile's Journal, lately printed under the title of Pièces Justificatives. Some of them relate to the affair and process of Mademoiselle Coman. They add nothing, or very little, to what has been already said. The others are:

First, a manuscript, which the author pretends had been found in the cabinet of the Duke of Aumale (Charles of Lorraine, second son of Claude), who died in the Low Countries in the year 1631. In this manuscript, which heavily charges the Jesuits and the Count of Auvergne, although in prison at the time, it is related, that the Duke of Epernon, who was in the coach with his majesty, seeing him wounded to death (these are his words), "stabbed him in the side with a knife, that he might be sooner out of pain. The Duke of Montbazon," adds he, "saw the Duke of Epernon stab the king, but did not take any notice of it, because he favoured this assassination."

The second of these pieces is entitled the Meeting between the Duke of Epernon and Francis Ravaillac. It is there asserted that this duke, being at Angoulême, sent for Ravaillac and two other accomplices of his, and he and Father Cotton exhorted them to poniard the king, giving for a reason, that this prince was an enemy to the pope, the King of Spain, and the Catholic religion, which he was going to abolish in Europe; and that, after they had made them swear to perform this, receiving the Communion upon it from

Father Cotton, they gave them each two hundred crowns. The assassins then took the road to Paris, where having stayed a long time without meeting an opportunity for executing their enterprise, they obliged D'Epernon to give each of them a hundred crowns more; that when the moment for perpetrating the parricide approached, the Duke of Epernon, as he had agreed upon beforehand with Ravaillac, amused the king with some discourse, and then the horrid villain, throwing himself upon the king, gave him a wound with a knife; but the said duke, perceiving that it was very slight, and that the king cried out "I am wounded!" he made a sign to him to repeat the stroke, whereupon this execrable wretch, with a second blow, struck the king to the heart, so that he expired immediately. All these imputations, to be found only in contemptible libels, deserve less that we should show their falsehood and inconsistency than the former. (See Pasquier's Letter to M. de Monac, in which he justifies the Duke of Epernon.)

Tho other pieces relate to the story of Peter du Jardin, known by the name of Captain de la Garde, of whom we have already had occasion to speak. From these we learn, that Du Jardin was a native of Rouen; he served at first in the regiment of guards, afterwards in the light horse; he then went to Provence, where he was employed by the Duke of Guise in his majesty's service. Marshal Biron knew him when he served in the light horse, and attached him to himself on account of his great bravery. After the peace of Savoy, he went into the service of the republic of Venice, where he continued till she made peace with the pope. He then went to serve in Germany under the Duke of Mercœur. He again returned to Venice, from whence, after a short stay at Florence and Rome, he came to Naples. In this city he became acquainted with a refugee, named La Bruyère, who had been a leaguer; by him he was introduced to a Jesuit, called Father Alagon, uncle to the Duke of Lerma, the King of Spain's favourite. This Jesuit, being desirous to make use of so brave a man in the design that was projected of assassinating Henry IV., joined him with Hebert, Marshal Biron's secretary, who has been mentioned in our Memoirs, with Louis d'Aix, mentioned likewise in the account of the

reduction of Marseilles, and with another Provençal, called Roux, all of them French refugees.

In one of their parties of pleasure Ravaillac was introduced to them, who disclosed to them all his designs, and told them that he had brought a letter from the Duke of Epernon for the Viceroy of Naples. La Garde, having now got sufficient intelligence of everything that was projecting, went to Zamet, ambassador from France to Venice, to discover all he knew. This ambassador sent him immediately to M. de Brèves, our ambassador at Rome, and to Zamet his brother, at Paris. De Brèves gave La Garde letters for M. de Villeroy, with which he returned to Paris in the train of the Duke of Nevers, who at Fontainebleau presented him to his majesty. Henry IV., after telling him that he would take proper measures to render these designs upon his person ineffectual, ordered this officer to accompany the Grand Marshal of Poland into Germany, and to take care of his interests there. La Garde, returning to France with advices of great importance from the Grand Marshal of Poland, was at Frankfort informed of the king's death. He retired to Metz greatly indisposed, from whence he followed Marshal de la Châtre to the expedition of Juliers. After the peace, as he was upon his journey to France, he was attacked near the village of Fize by some armed men, who gave him several wounds, and left him for dead in a ditch. La Garde made shift to get to Mézières, where the Duke of Nevers then was, who caused him to be conducted to Paris, where, upon presenting a petition to the king, he obtained the office of comptroller-general of Bierres; but, when he least expected such treatment, he was seized and carried to prison. Before judgment was pronounced, which could not but be favourable, because his judges found him absolutely innocent of everything charged upon him, an exempt came to take him out of prison, and delivered him a brevet for a yearly pension of six hundred livres, and his patent for the office of comptroller-general of Bierres. It appears that he retired to Rouen, and died there.

Another writer, of still later date, who has restored the five interrogatories of Ravaillac, in the volume of manuscripts marked 192 of the king's library (for the "French Mercury" mentions only the four last, which are abridged and

related in an historical manner, and says not a word of the first), believes that in them may be found proofs that the criminal endeavoured to impose upon his judges, and did not make a full confession; and that his judges, on their side, seemed to be afraid of asking him how he came to be known to the Duke of Epernon. He has not the least doubt of Ravaillac's having been in Italy, although he constantly denied it. The pieces relating to the processes of La Coman and Captain de la Garde, seem to him to prove very clearly that the plot of the parricide was laid at Naples in the year 1608; and that at one and the same time they laboured to secure the success of it in Italy, Spain, Flanders, and France. To this he adds, that the Duke of Epernon and the Marchioness of Verneuil met several times at St. Jean en Grève; that they had been heard to say something relating to their scheme, and that Henry IV. himself was informed of it; but that this prince, either through a blind security, or an excess of goodness, neglected this information.

Those who have observed that the Duke of Sully, in some passages of his Memoirs, confessed that he does not declare all he knows on this subject, may in these words find some ground for suspicions; but, indeed, in all these there is nothing sufficiently clear nor positive to make it allowable upon such hints to accuse this or that person; and at present the best thing that can be done is to draw a veil over this mystery of iniquity, and, if possible, to consign for ever to oblivion this shocking period of our history. We ought to take this part, although it were true, what some persons are fully persuaded of, that there are two or three cabinets in Paris which are able to throw some new lights upon this fact. Those who are possessed of such papers, are greatly to be praised for concealing them with so much care, and it would be well if they could resolve to consign them to the flames.

Throughout this whole detail, I have not quoted Vittorio Siri; not that he makes no mention of the assassination of Henry IV. and the trial of Ravaillac (Mem. Recond. vol. ii. p. 246), but he does it in so negligent a manner, and like a man so ill informed, and even so prejudiced against the person of Henry IV. and his maxims of government, that his

testimony deserves to have no weight. I shall only observe here, that it is his opinion absolutely that Ravaillac had no accomplices.

*** This long and laboured attempt of the compiler of Sully's Memoirs to exculpate the Jesuits from all share in the assassination of Henry IV., is fully examined and refuted in a tract entitled "Observations sur la Nouvelle Forme des Mémoires travestis de M. le Duc de Sully." The reader will find it in the Supplement to the French edition of Sully, in ten volumes, 1778.

THE

# TRIAL OF FRANCIS RAVAILLAC

FOR THE

# MURDER OF KING HENRY IV., 1610.

INTERROGATORIES exhibited to the Prisoner accused of the murder of the late King, on the 17th of May, 1610, at the suit of the Attorney-General, by ACHILLES DE HARLAY, First President; NICHOLAS POTIER, President; JOHN COURTIN and PROSPER BAVIN, Councillors of our lord the King in his Court of Parliament, Commissioners appointed by the said Court for that purpose.

THE prisoner is sworn; and asked his name, age, rank, and place of abode?

He said that his name was Francis Ravaillac, born and dwelling at Angoulême, between thirty-one and thirty-two years of age.

He was asked if he was married?

He answered, No.

Whether he ever had been married?

He answered, No.

How he had spent his youth, and to what he had applied himself?

He said that he had been employed in soliciting lawsuits in this court.

Whether he had been bred up to the practice of the law?

He said that he had solicited lawsuits for fourteen years; that he lodged at the Rats, opposite the Green Pillar, in

Harp-street, at a cobbler's; and near the Three Pair of Beads, in Calendar-street.

How long he had been in this city the last journey?

He said about three weeks.

Whether he has had any intention to go back again?

He said, Yes.

How far he had gone back?

He said he had gone beyond the town of Estampes, at the sign of the Ecce Homo.

He was asked what made him return?

He said a desire to kill the king.

He was asked what was his motive?

He answered that, amongst other reasons, there was this, that the king had not, as he was able to do, brought back the followers of the pretended Reformation to the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church.

He was asked what other reasons he had?

He answered that he was come to this city to speak to the king, and admonish him to bring back those of the pretended Reformed religion to the Catholic Church; and for that purpose he had been several times at the Louvre to meet with his majesty; that he had been at Madame d'Angoulême's to get somebody to introduce him; and likewise at the house of the Cardinal du Perron, to whom he never spoke, but only to his chaplains, whose names he could not tell, but should know them if he saw them; that he spoke of it to Father Daubigny, a Jesuit, in his last journey, which was before Christmas; he spoke of it to the parson of St. Séverin, and to the Father Saint Mary Magdalen, provincial of the Feuillants.

It was asked him where he spoke to Father Daubigny?

He said he spoke to him in the church in St. Antony's-street, at the conclusion of mass.

He was asked at what time he talked to him?

He said that he set out from his own country thirteen days before Christmas; that he was fourteen days in coming to this city; that three or four days after his arrival he went to the house of the Jesuits near St. Antony's-gate, where, he said, Father Daubigny said mass; after which, he desired one of the lay brothers to procure him the means of speaking to the said Daubigny, which he did; and he told him several

visions which had preceded the meditations that he had made by the permission of his provincial, Francis Mary Magdalen of the Feuillants.

He was asked why he used the expression, "My provincial?"

He said, because the said Mary Magdalen had received him as lay brother at the Feuillants.

It was asked how long he had worn the habit of a Feuillant, and why he had quitted it?

He said that he had worn it about six weeks; and they had taken it from him because he had visions in his meditations.

On being again asked about it, he said he had desired it again, but it was refused him on account of the said meditations.

Upon this he began to weep, and said God had given him that habit, and his grief was that they would not restore it to him.

He was asked if he knew the superior, and his name?

He said that he did not know him, nor his name; but that he had asked for the habit again only because it being our Lord's pleasure that he should continue in the world, from which it was his wish to retire, he resolved to serve as a lay-brother.

This he uttered with tears.

He said that he had a great deal of uneasiness in not having stayed with the Feuillants in the favour of God.

He was asked what visions he had spoken of to Father Daubigny?

He said that he had told him that while he was a prisoner for debt at Angoulême he had visions representing fire, sulphur, and incense; and being released from prison the Saturday after Christmas, having at night made his meditation, as was his custom, in bed, with his hands clasped and his feet crossed, he felt his face and his mouth covered with something which he could not discern, because it was midnight, and being in that state he felt in himself a desire to sing the Psalms of David: he began the psalm, *Dixit Dominus*, and sung it through; and afterwards, *Miserere* and *De profundis* at full length; and it seemed to him that he had a trumpet in his mouth, which made a sound as loud as that which is made in war.

The next day, in the morning, as soon as he got out of bed, having made his meditation on his knees, and recollected in God, as his manner was, he sat down in a low chair before the hearth, and having combed his head, it being not yet light, he perceived one of the sticks yet on fire; and having finished dressing himself, he found part of a bundle of twigs, which he put to the sticks that had kept fire, and kneeling down upon the ground set himself to blow it, when immediately, on both sides of his face, both to the right and to the left, he saw, by the glimmering of the fire which was produced by his breath, hosts like those which are used at the communion of Catholics in the church of God; and below his face, at the right side of his mouth, he saw a roll of the same size with that which the priest elevates at the celebration of divine service. Of this revelation he gave an account to Father Daubigny, who, fearing that his head was disordered, told him that he was not to think of all this, but to tell his beads and pray to God; but that he was determined in his own mind to address himself to some great man to speak to the king.

It was inquired if he had asked Daubigny whether, if he should have visions that incited him to kill the king, he ought to confess them?

He answered that he had said nothing to him but what he had already told, except that his purpose was to speak to the king to drive out all the followers of the pretended Reformed religion, and convert them to the Roman Catholic Church.

It was asked what Daubigny said to this?

He said that he should put all these things out of his head, say his prayers, and tell his beads.

It was asked whether he had no other conversation with him, and whether he never saw him but that time?

He answered, No.

Why did he choose to address himself to Daubigny rather than to any other?

He answered that it was because, when he was turned out of the Feuillants, he had a mind to become a Jesuit, or to entreat him to speak to his provincial to replace him among the Feuillants; but that not having found him the first time, one of the lay-brethren told him that they never received into their house those who had been in another order.

He said further, that, not having been able to speak to the king, he went back to the Jesuits to speak a second time to the said Daubigny, and spoke to him as he has already said; and showed him a little knife on which there was a heart and a cross, telling him that the heart of the king should be disposed to make war amongst the Huguenots.

He was asked what hindered him from speaking to the king?

He said that it was the grand provost, who had given him the torture with the gun while he was kept prisoner at the Hôtel de Retz.

He was asked to whom he had applied himself that he might speak with the king?

He said to the archers, and they carried him to speak to the provost, who told him that the king was sick.

He was asked when he was at the Louvre?

He said that it was after Christmas; and some two or three days afterwards he met his majesty near the Innocents in his coach, and desiring to speak to him, he cried out in these words: "Sire, I speak to you in the name of our Lord Jesus, and of the Holy Virgin;" but the king put him back with a little stick, and would not hear him. He then considered of retiring into his own country, and went away. And, being at Angoulême, he went to look for Friar Gilles there, who had been formerly visitor of the Franciscan friars in Paris, to whom he confessed his visions and meditations, telling him that he saw it to be the will of our Lord to bring back the followers of the pretended Reformation to the Catholic Church: that the visitor told him he need not doubt of it. A few days afterwards, and the first Sunday in Lent, he went to mass at the monastery of the Franciscan friars in Angoulême, where he reconciled himself with God, made his confession to a friar of the order, whose name he does not know, and in his confession told the voluntary murder.

He was desired to explain what he meant by the word *voluntary*.

He said, his meaning was, that he returned into this city with an intention to murder the king, which, nevertheless, he did not tell his confessor, who did not desire the meaning of those words.

Upon being further questioned, he said that he had then lost that intention, but that, when he returned to this city, he resumed his intention.

He was asked when he came to this city?

He said that he travelled on foot, and arrived eight days after his setting out.

He was asked how he had employed himself during his stay in Paris?

He said that he lodged at the Three Half Moons, in the suburb St. James; and afterwards, that he might be near the Louvre, he went to lodge at the Three Pigeons, in the suburb St. Honoré; from thence he went to take a lodging at an inn near the Quinze-vingts, but, there being too many guests there, he was refused; upon which he took up a knife that lay upon a table, not upon account of his being refused a lodging, but because it seemed to him a very fit one for the execution of his design, and he kept it for some days, or three weeks, in a bag in his pocket.

He further said that, having desisted from his intention, he set out upon his journey home, and went as far as Estampes; that, as he was walking, he broke the point of the knife against a cart near the Garden of Chanteloup, and, coming opposite to the Ecce Homo, of the suburb of Estampes, he again took it into his head to kill the king, and, no longer resisting the temptation, as he had done formerly, he returned to Paris with that resolution, because the king did not convert the followers of the pretended Reformation, and because he had heard it reported that the king intended to make war upon the pope, and transfer the seat of the holy see to Paris.

He was then asked where he lodged, and who procured him lodgings in this city?

He said that he sought for an opportunity to kill the king, and that for this purpose he sharpened, with a stone, the point of the knife, which had been broken, and waited till the queen was crowned and come back to the city, supposing that there would not be so much confusion in France if he killed the king after her coronation as if he had done it before.

He was told that, since he deferred killing the king through a hope that there would be fewer commotions after the coro-

nation, the said coronation could not prevent the troubles which the king's death must necessarily bring along with it.

He said that he submitted that to the will of God.

He was asked where he went to meet the king?

He said that he went to the Louvre, where he had been several times since he had resolved upon killing him; that he went there last Wednesday, and intended to kill him between the two gates, as he was going into his coach; that he followed him as far as the Innocents, near the place where he happened to meet him before, when he would not speak to him; and observing that the coach was stopped by two carts, and that his majesty turned his face and leaned towards that side where Monsieur d'Epernon sat, he struck him twice in the side with his knife, passing his arm above the coach-wheel.

He was asked what was his own opinion of the action he had committed?

He said that he thought he had committed a great fault, for which he asked pardon of God, of the queen, the dauphin, the whole court, and of every one who was injured by it.

We showed him the knife, which lay before us: it was double-edged at the point, with the handle made of a stag's horn. He acknowledged it to be the same with which he had stabbed the king, and that it was immediately taken from him by a gentleman on horseback.

He was told that he could have no reason for committing so wicked and traitorous an act, and that he had certainly been incited to it by some other person?

He said that no person whatever had incited him to do it, but the common discourse among the soldiers, who said that if the king, who would not tell his design to any one, intended to make war upon the holy father, that they would not assist him, although they were to die for it: that for this cause he yielded to the temptation which prompted him to kill the king, because he made war against God, inasmuch as the Pope is God, and God the Pope.

He was asked what time it was that he heard this discourse amongst the soldiers?

He said that it was after he went to lodge at the Three Half Moons.

It was objected to him, that he was guilty of a falsehood in declaring that to be the cause of his committing the parri-

cide, because he had said before, that, having laid aside his design of killing the king, he set out on his journey to his own country; and that, when he came to Estampes, he resumed that design upon the discourse of the soldiers.

He answered, that he had spoken to them before, notwithstanding which he had altered his intention; but when he came to Estampes he resumed it upon remembering what the soldiers had said to him.

He desired us to show him the paper which he had about him at the time he was seized, whereon was painted the arms of France, with a lion on each side, one holding a key, the other a sword. We showed this paper to him, and he acknowledged it to be the same which he had brought with him from Angoulême, with an intention to kill the king.

He was asked whether, when he was at the house of a man whose name was Beliard, he had heard the said Beliard say that the pope's nuncio had told the king, in the name of his holiness, that, if he made war, he would excommunicate him?

He said, Yes; and also that his majesty had answered, that it was his predecessors who had placed the popes upon the throne; and that, if the holy father should excommunicate him, he would dispossess him of it; whereupon he resolved to kill the king, and with that intention he wrote these lines over the two lions:

Ne souffre pas qu'on fasse en ta présence
Au nom de Dieu aucune irrévérence.

(Do not suffer the name of God to be profaned in thy presence.)

He was asked whether the knife, when he took it off the table, had the same handle that it has now?

He said, No; that the handle was of whalebone, which, being broken, he gave the knife to his landlord's brother, whose name was John Barbier, a turner by trade, living in the suburb of St. James, and desired him to put a handle of horn upon it; but he did not tell him why he preferred that to any other.

He was asked if this Beliard was of the pretended Reformed religion?

He said, No; that he was a Catholic: nevertheless, he held that discourse with him which put it into his head to kill the king.

He was told that he ought not to have taken so wicked and abominable a resolution upon the discourse of one man only.

He said he had taken a resolution to kill the king, not only upon what he had heard this man say, but also upon the discourse of the soldiers at Paris, and that of the Sieur de St. Gorges, among others, who said that if the king would make war upon the holy father, he would obey him, being thereto obliged; and that, if the king did wrong, he only was to answer for it.

We showed him a heart, of costmary-root, which he acknowledged to have been taken from him: and he said it had been given him by M. Guillebaut, canon of Angoulême, to cure him of a fever, saying that there was within it a little bit of wood of the real holy cross, consecrated by the Capuchin friars, which had that virtue; and for that purpose he had sent Mary Moseau, his landlady, to the Capuchins for it, and ever since he had worn it about his neck.

We ordered it to be opened in his presence; but there was no wood to be found in the inside:

Upon which he said that it was not him who was deceived, but the person who gave it him.

We showed him a pair of beads, which he said he had bought in St. James's-street, seven or eight days ago; that he has said his prayers with them, and wore them ever since constantly.

He was asked what persons he kept company with after he had resumed his intention to kill the king?

He said he kept company with none but the friars of his own country, who are at the convent of the Dominican Friars, whither he used to go to hear mass and vespers.

He was asked what discourse he had with them, and if he had spoken to them of his visions?

He said that he had told them what he had told to others.

He was asked if he was acquainted with a man whose name was Colletet, and what discourse they had had together?

He said that he knew him only by lodging in the same

room with him; that they lay together, but that he had not spoken to him of his design.

He was asked if he had had any discourse with any other friars?

He said not in this last journey.

If he had had any discourse with a Franciscan friar of Angoulême?

He said, Yes; but that he had not spoken to him of his enterprise and of his imaginations.

He was told that he did not say the truth; for that he had spoken to him of his imaginations, asking his opinion whether he, who had such imaginations, ought to declare them to his confessor.

To this he answered, that he had not spoken to a Franciscan of his own country, but to another whom he met near Bourg de la Royire, with whom he joined company; and, because he had no acquaintance in this city, he gave him part of his own lodgings, and carried letters from his friends to procure him admission into the convent: that he also carried his bundle for him; and that the name of this friar was Le Fébure.

It was observed to him that during the reading of his examination, when the wounds he had given the king were mentioned, he had asked pardon of God for that crime, but that the true means to obtain it was to acknowledge the truth; that his pretence for committing that action was so slight, that he must certainly have been prompted to it by some one who was concerned in the success of that miserable stroke of which we feel the effects.

He said that since he had been under confinement he had been urged by several persons to make this confession, and even by the Archbishop of Aix; but that he had been prompted by no person whatever, but by his own desires: and that, however he might be tormented, he should never say anything else: that, if torments could have forced him to confess, he had suffered sufficiently by the torture which a Huguenot, of his own private authority, gave him, when he kept him prisoner at the Hôtel de Retz, by which he had the bone of his thumb broken.

He was told that he had been chosen to commit this action as a proper instrument of mischief; he whose whole life had

been wicked, and who had begun with using a father and a mother ill, and reducing them to beggary.

He said that it would not be found so, and that his father and mother, who were still living, would witness the contrary, as well as the people where he dwelt; that he had been indeed accused and condemned for it, but it was by false witnesses, for he was innocent.

He was asked when he was at Brussels?

He said that he was never out of the kingdom, and that he did not know where Brussels is.

This examination being read to the said Ravaillac, he persisted in his answers, and signed his name

RAVAILLAC.

The Examination taken next morning, at the Palace, by us the Commissioners, the First President being sick.

The prisoner being sent for as before, and his oath taken,

He was asked what was his rank and condition, and if he had a father or a mother alive?

He said that he is a practitioner of the law, and that, before his confinement, he employed himself in instructing youth; and that his father is likewise a practitioner of the law, and that his mother is separated from his father.

We having again ordered his examination to be read to him, he persisted in his answers, without adding or diminishing anything, except only that he omitted saying, as he did now, that he had been carried to the commission of that crime because the king would not permit justice to be done upon the Huguenots for the attempt they made last Christmas to murder all the Catholics, for which attempt many of the Huguenots had been taken prisoners and brought into this city, yet, he had been told by several persons, were not punished.

He was told that this was false; and that, although he had heard it, he should not have believed it, nor have been induced to commit a deed so wicked and abominable.

He said that this was one of the circumstances which helped to strengthen the temptation.

He was told that it was the advice and instruction of others which strengthened it.

He said that no one was engaged in the design but himself.

He was asked if he lived in the same country with his father and mother?

He said that he had lived with his father and mother, but that his father neither loved him nor his mother.

He was asked how he maintained himself?

He said that he had eighty scholars, and that with what he gained from them he supported himself in the journeys he had made to this city.

He was asked if his father and mother observed his conduct?

He said that his father had not lived with them these six years; that he hated him; and that he had lived with his mother only, his sisters having likewise left her.

He was asked what means he had of living?

He said that his father and mother lived upon alms, and he himself upon what he gained from his scholars, one of whom gave him bacon, another flesh, another corn, wine, &c., and by what his friends furnished him with.

He was asked who were his friends?

He said that they were the fathers and mothers of his scholars.

He was asked why he did not stay in his own country, since he could get a livelihood there?

He said that he thought he should prefer the honour of God to all things.

He was told that it was not for the honour of God to kill his king, but that it was an act of the devil.

He said that it was a wicked temptation, which did not proceed from God, but was a punishment to him for his sins.

He was asked if he was not filled with horror at the commission of an act so abominable and of so fatal consequence to all France?

He said that he was sorry for having committed it; but that since it was done, he implored God to give him grace, that he might be able to continue till death in good faith,

lively hope, and perfect charity; and that he hoped God was more merciful, and his will to save him more powerful, than the act which he had committed was to damn him.

He was told that he could not be in the grace of God after having committed so wicked an action.

He said that he hoped our all-powerful Lord would not make him suffer for it.

He was told that he ought not to hope for the mercy of God, unless he acknowledged the truth and declared who the persons were who had incited and persuaded him to so wicked a deed.

He said that his only reason for committing it was what he had declared before at his examination.

He was asked if he had imparted his intention to any one?

He said that he had not to any person whatever.

He was told that he was too mean and inconsiderable a person to have conceived such a design, and that he must have been advised and supported by others.

He said that no person had advised him.

He was told that he was so much the more wicked if he undertook such an enterprise without being advised to it; therefore he would do well to declare who were his advisers.

To this he answered, that the reason why he did not declare this pernicious intention to priests and men who have the care of souls, was, that he was well assured if he had disclosed to them his design of killing the king, it was their duty to seize his person and put him into the hands of justice; since, whenever the public is concerned, priests are obliged to reveal all confessions; for this reason, therefore, he would not open himself to any person, through a fear that he might be punished with death, as well for his intention of killing the king as if he had really done it, for which he asked pardon of God.

He was told that the Church commands that all evil thoughts should be revealed in confession, and to neglect it is a deadly sin.

He said that he acknowledged this.

He was told that he had mentioned it.

He said he had not.

He was asked if he had not spoken of it to a Franciscan friar?

He said, No.

He was told that he did not speak the truth, for that he had mentioned it to a Franciscan friar, asking him whether, if a man had strange visions, such as to kill the king, he ought to declare them in his confession?

He said that it was true he had consulted a friar upon this head, but did not tell him that he would do it.

He was asked who it was that he consulted?

He said, a young Franciscan friar, named Le Fébure, to whom he put this question: Whether, if a man was assaulted with a temptation, such as to kill a king, and should confess it to the penitentiary, he should be under a necessity of revealing it; but being interrupted by another friar, he could not know the friar's opinion concerning the case that he put to him.

He was told that he did not say the truth, and that the Franciscan did make him an answer; and he was asked if he would believe the Franciscan if he owned it?

He said that he would not believe him, but that it was his opinion that if the friar had given him an answer, it was, that he ought to reveal his imaginations; but he was interrupted, and therefore would not give him an answer; neither did he, the accused, propose the question to him as if he was the man who had the temptation, but in general, as if it should happen to any man.

He was told that he did not acknowledge the truth, and that he did declare his intentions to him.

He said that it was very unlikely that he should do so; that he had applied as well to laymen as to others, even to an equerry belonging to Queen Margaret, whose name was De Ferrare; he declared his visions to him, and entreated him to procure him an opportunity to speak to the king; that the equerry answered, he must first have proofs that he was a good man, and one who was fit to speak to the king; to which he, the accused, made answer, that he thought he was good enough to speak to the king. He added, that probably if he had spoken to his majesty, he would have lost his temptation. That he afterwards applied to the secretary of Madame d'Angoulême, who told him that the king was

sick; yet he went again to the house of the Cardinal du Perron, where he had the answer he formerly repeated, that he would do better to return to his own house.

He was told that that was good counsel, and he ought to have followed it.

He said that it was true, but he was so weakened by his sins that he had no power over himself: and that the devil made him fall into this temptation.

He was told that the devil made use of others to tempt him.

He said that no man had ever spoken to him on the subject.

He was told that he could not hope for the grace of God, unless he discharged his conscience.

He said that he had some fears, but he also had great hopes of the grace of God.

He was told that he could not expect it but by declaring the truth.

He said that if he had been employed by any one in France, or by a foreigner, and should be so abandoned by God as to die without declaring it, he should not believe that he would be saved, or that there would be any paradise for him, because *abissus abissunt*, &c., as he had learned of the preachers of our Lord; that one abyss of sins leads into others: that it was so double his crime, that the king, more especially the queen, the whole house of France, the court, the nobility, and all the people, should, on his account, be induced to offend God, while their minds remained in a perpetual inquietude, suspecting, unjustly, sometimes one, sometimes another, of their subjects; none of whom, he believed, were so imprudent as to entertain a thought of being disloyal to their princes.

He was told that if that was his opinion, he ought the more readily to declare who had persuaded him to the crime.

He said that no Frenchman, foreigner, or any other, had ever advised, persuaded, or spoken to him on this subject; neither had he, the accused, ever mentioned it to any one. He was not so wicked as to have committed that deed for any other cause than what he had declared to us, namely, that he believed the king intended to make war upon the pope.

He was told that this was a false pretence.

He said that he was very sorry for what he had done, and that he earnestly begged of every one to lay aside their suspicions of his having been set on to murder the king, and to believe that he only was concerned in that deed; and that they would not look with an evil eye, or bear any one ill will, since he alone was guilty.

He was asked if he had ever been in service?

He said that he had served the late Monsieur Rosières, a councillor of Angoulême; and that he had lived likewise with some attorneys who were now dead.

He was asked if he had ever served any nobleman as a page, footman, or valet de chambre?

He said that he had not; but when he lived with Councillor Rosières, as his clerk, he likewise served him as a valet de chambre.

He was asked if he had seen the coronation last Tuesday, and if he had followed the king?

He said he had not.

He was asked if he had been on the road to St. Denis?

He said not this last journey, but at Christmas last, when he went to beg alms of the bakers.

He was asked if he had been there last week?

He said he had not gone further than St. Jean-en-Grève, and Le Pont Notre Dame.

He was asked if he had any magical characters about him, and who had given them to him?

He said he should have thought it a wicked thing to have them.

His examination being read to him, he persisted in his answers, and signed his name,

RAVAILLAC.

Underneath which he wrote these lines:

Que toujours en mon cœur,
Jésus soit le vainqueur.

(In my heart let Jesus be always conqueror.)

Father James Daubigny, Priest of the College of Jesuits, was this day sent for into Court, by us, the Commissioners, in the presence of Ravaillac; both of them acknowledged the oaths they had taken.

The said Ravaillac acknowledged that the said Father Daubigny was the person whom he had heard say mass some time after last Christmas, in their church in St. Antony's-street. That having been told he was the friend of Father Mary Magdalen the Feuillant, he went to seek him, to entreat him to procure his admission into that order; that after mass was over he spoke to him by the means of a lay-brother, and declared to him that he had had great visions and imaginations, importing that the king ought to reduce the followers of the pretended Reformation; and that he showed the said Daubigny a little knife, whereon was a heart and a cross; believing that the king ought to bring back the followers of the pretended Reformation to the Catholic and Roman Church.

The said Daubigny replied that all this was false, and that he had never seen the said Ravaillac.

The said Ravaillac answered, By the same token you gave me a penny, which you asked of one that was near you.

To this the said Daubigny answered, that the prisoner was a very bad man; and, after having committed so wicked an action, he had sins enough to answer for without being the cause of a hundred thousand others which might be committed.

The prisoner was then told that if he had any objections to make to Father Daubigny, he must make them immediately.

He said that he had none; that he looked upon the said Father Daubigny to be an honest man, a good religious, and that he would believe him.

In like manner the said Daubigny, being told of the ordinance, that he must make his objections to the prisoner immediately, for they would not afterwards be received,

He said that he had nothing else to say, but that the prisoner was a very wicked man, and had uttered several falsehoods.

The examination of the said Daubigny being read in the

presence of the said Ravaillac, he, the said Daubigny, persisted in his answers, and declared that they were true.

But the said Ravaillac declared that he had spoken to the said Daubigny; that he went to look for him when he came out of the Louvre, and told him that he had temptations; and that when he was in prison making his meditations, by permission of Father Mary Magdalen, his hands and feet had sent forth a stench of sulphur and fire, which were proofs of the existence of a purgatory, contrary to the erroneous opinion of heretics; that he had visions of the sacred hosts on each side of his face, having before sung the Psalms of David; and, in a word, that he had related all those circumstances to him which he had declared to us the day before in his examination: and that the said Daubigny said to him, in answer, that he the said Ravaillac ought to apply to some great men to admonish the king. However, since he had not done it, it was more proper for him to pray to God, he being of opinion that those visions he spoke of were merely imaginary, and the effects of a disordered brain, as might be perceived by his looks; that he ought to eat good soup, go to his own country, tell his beads, and pray to God.

To this the said Daubigny replied that these were all dreams and lies.

We having caused the questions that were put to the said Ravaillac concerning the said Daubigny, with his answers, to be read to him in the presence of Daubigny, the said Ravaillac persisted in his answers, and declared that they were true.

The said Daubigny replied, that all which the said Ravaillac had deposed against him was false, as he had before declared to us.

Upon this Ravaillac being further questioned, replied that he had never seen the said Daubigny but that one time.

Their examination being read to them, they persisted in their answers, and signed their names.

The Examination taken on the 19th of the said month of May, in the morning, at the Palace, by us the Commissioners.

The said Ravaillac being brought into court, and his oath

taken, he was required to declare who those persons were that had prompted him to so wicked an undertaking.

He said that all which now remained for him to declare was his intention and earnest desire to free himself from the load of his sins; that the whole nation was, upon his account, led to believe that he had been bribed by the enemies of France to kill the king, or by foreign kings and princes, who were desirous of aggrandising themselves—as was too common among the kings and great potentates of the earth, who do not consider whether their motive for making war is agreeable to the will of God—or else through a covetous desire of appropriating unjustly to themselves the territories of other princes; but that the truth was, he, the prisoner, had not been incited to that action by any person whatever; for if he could have been so wicked as to have committed it for money or for the interest of foreigners, he would have acknowledged it in the presence of God, before whom he now maintained the truth; that he therefore entreated the queen, the court, and the whole nation, to believe him, and not to charge his soul with the crime they commit, in supposing he was prompted to that parricide by any other; for that this sin would fall heavy on him, the prisoner, for being the cause of the uncertainty they were in, which gave rise to their suspicions; and he therefore implored them to lay those suspicions aside, since no one but himself was able to judge of the fact, and it was such as he had confessed

It was remonstrated to him that since he had neither been injured in his person or goods by any command or ordinance of the king, it was not probable he would make an attempt upon his sacred person, whom he knew to be God's anointed, unless he had been persuaded to it by some other persons, and had received money from them, he being a poor man in want of the necessaries of life, and the son of parents who lived upon alms.

He said that it is sufficiently proved to the court through the course of his examination, if he had, through the force of money, or by the persuasions of persons who are ambitious of the sceptre of France, been prevailed upon to murder the king, he would not have come three times expressly from Angoulême to Paris, which were a hundred leagues distant from each other, to admonish the king to bring back the

followers of the pretended Reformation to the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church, as being persons who acted contrary to the will of God and his Church; for a man who could be so wicked as to suffer himself to be corrupted, through avarice, to assassinate his prince, would not have come three several times to admonish him, as he had done; and that, since he had committed this parricide, the Sieur de la Force, captain of the guards, has acknowledged that he (the prisoner) had been at the Louvre, and earnestly entreated him to procure him the means of speaking to the king; and that the said Sieur de la Force told him he was a furious Papist, asking him if he knew Monsieur d'Epernon; to which he (the prisoner) replied that he did know Monsieur d'Epernon, and that he himself was not a furious Papist; but that, when he had taken the habit in the Monastery of St. Bernard, Father Francis de St. Peter was appointed to be his spiritual father; and, since he was a true Roman and apostolic Catholic, he was desirous of living and dying such: and he entreated the said Sieur de la Force to bring him to the speech of the king, for he durst not declare to him the temptation he had so long had to kill the king; all he wanted was to tell it to his majesty, to the end that he might no longer be troubled with this bad intention.

He was asked whether, when he took those journeys to advise the king to make war upon the followers of the pretended Reformation, he designed, in case his majesty had not complied with his desires, to have committed the wicked act he had done?

He said he did not intend it in that case; for he should have laid aside his design, and have thought that it was better to make him that remonstrance than to kill him.

It was objected to him that he had not changed his wicked intention, since, after his last journey from Angoulême, in Easter, he had not sought for an opportunity to speak to the king, which was a proof that he left Angoulême with a resolution to do what he had done.

He said it was true.

He was asked if, from Easter-day to that on which he left Angoulême, he had received the holy Communion?

He said he had not, and that he received it the first Sunday in Lent; but that he had, nevertheless, caused the

holy sacrifice of the mass to be celebrated in St. Paul's church at Angoulême, which was his parish church, as acknowledging himself unworthy of the most holy and august Sacrament, full of mystery and incomprehensible virtue, because he was troubled with the temptation which prompted him to kill the king, and would not in such a state approach the precious body of his God.

It was objected to him that, since he perceived he was not worthy of that mystery which he called incomprehensible, he could not assist with any devotion at that holy sacrifice celebrated by the priest, of which all Christians participate, receiving spiritually that which he who consecrates receives actually.

To this he was silent. He continued some time pensive and in thought, and then said that he did not well know what to answer to their remonstrance; but afterwards he said that he remembered it was his great affection for the most holy Sacrament of the altar which induced him to have it celebrated; and that he hoped he should participate of the Communion by means of his mother, who was going to receive her God in that sacrifice, because he was always of opinion that she was more pious and had more love for her God than he had. Saying this he shed many tears.

He was told that he could have no reverence for, nor any faith in, the holy Communion and sacrifice of the mass, since he had for a long time been under the influence of the devil, and been accustomed to invoke demons, whom he caused to appear to him when he lodged in this city about four years ago.

He said that he never had invoked demons.

He was asked if he knew a man named Dubois, born in Limoges; and whether they lodged together in this city and lay in the same chamber?

He said he did know him: that they lodged together at the sign of the Rats, opposite to the Green Pillar, in Harp-street.

He was asked if he would believe what the said Dubois should say?

He said, Yes, he would believe him.

He was asked whether, as he lay in bed with the said Du-

bois, he did not use some magical incantation, invoking the demons; and in what manner?

He said that this was so far from being true that he did not even lie in the same chamber with the said Dubois, but in a garret over the room where he, the said Dubois lay: that, about midnight, the said Dubois, repeating *Credo in Deum*, earnestly entreated him several times to come down to him, saying, "Ravaillac, my friend, come down;" and crying aloud, "My God, have mercy upon me!" That thereupon he, the prisoner, would have gone down to him to know why he cried out for help in such a manner, but he was hindered by some persons in the room with him, who were terrified with the cries of the said Dubois: but that he, the prisoner, going down to Dubois some time afterwards, he told him that he had seen a black dog of a monstrous size, and very terrible, which came and laid his two fore-paws upon his bed; and that the terror this vision threw him into made him utter those cries, and entreat that he, the prisoner, would come into his room and stay with him; upon which he, the prisoner, advised the said Dubois to have recourse to the celebration of the holy sacrifice of the altar, in order to get rid of his horrible visions, and to cause mass to be said the next morning; and that they went together accordingly the next morning to the convent of the Franciscan friars, and caused the holy mass to be said, to draw down the grace of God upon them, and to preserve them from the incursions of the devils, the common enemies of mankind.

It was objected to him that it was not at all probable that the said Dubois should have called to him, who lay so high, or that he should have heard his voice.

He answered that nothing was more likely, it being one of the properties of the voice to ascend; but that, since the court would not believe him, the truth of what he said would be attested by those persons who were in the room where he lay, and who hindered him from going to the said Dubois: that they were his landlady, Mary Moiseau, and a cousin of hers, named John le Blond, who came into his room on account of the great noise they had heard, and for which he had quitted the room of the said Dubois, where he had lain before.

He was told that he had no desire to get rid of his tempta-

tion, and therefore would not receive the Communion on Easter-day, lest it should have the power to divert him from his purpose.

He said that his reason for not receiving the Communion was that he had, on Easter-day, taken a resolution to kill the king, and upon that account he would not really, and in fact, receive the precious body of our Lord; but had a desire to hear the holy mass before he set out, believing that the Sacrament which his mother received that day would be sufficient both for her and him, and he then begged of God that it might, and, as he did now and would to his death implore him, that he might be made partaker of all the holy Communions taken by the religious of both sexes, by good men seculars, and others in the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church, receiving in the faith of our holy mother the Church the precious body of our Redeemer; and that, being thus received by them, he might be made partaker of it, as believing himself a member of one only Jesus Christ.

He was told that, having resolved upon so wicked an act, he was in a state of mortal sin, and in danger of damnation, and could not partake of the grace of God and the communion of good Christians while he continued to have this wicked intention; and that he ought to have altered it if he hoped to be in the grace of God as a good Catholic and Christian, as he would be thought to be.

He said that he did not in the least doubt but that he was prompted to it by the motions of his own mind, against the will of God, the author of all truth, contrary to the devil, who is the father of lies; but that now, through the remonstrance of the court, he acknowledged that he either could not or would not resist that temptation, it being out of the power of men to hinder him from committing that wicked action; that he now declared the whole truth, without suppressing or concealing anything; therefore he hoped that God, who was all good and merciful, would grant him pardon and remission of his sins, he being more powerful to save him, provided he made confession and received absolution, than men were to hurt him; and that he beseeched the Holy Virgin Mary, Monsieur St. Peter, Monsieur St. Francis (here he wept), Monsieur St. Bernard, and all the celestial court of Paradise to be his advocates and intercessors with the

most sacred Majesty, to the end that he might interpose his cross between his soul and hell; and by that he hoped to be made partaker of the merits of our Saviour Christ's passion, most humbly beseeching him that he would give him grace to continue associated with the merits of all those treasures he gave to the apostolic power on earth, when he said, "Thou art Peter," &c.

His examination being read to him, he persisted in his answers, and signed his name,

RAVAILLAC.

On the 27th of May, 1610, in the morning, at the Palace.

The Confrontation of the Witnesses before us, ACHILLES DE HARLAY, Knight, First President; NICHOLAS POTIER, President; PROSPER BAVIN and JOHN COURTIN, Councillors, &c.

Paul Noster, exempt of the guards, was confronted with the prisoner; both of them acknowledged the oath they had taken.

The accused said that the witness was the person who took him prisoner: and the witness, that the accused was the prisoner whom he took.

The prisoner then was told, that, if he had any objections to make against the witness, he must make them immediately, according to the ordinance of the realm.

He said that he had none.

The deposition of this witness being read to him, he persisted in it; and the prisoner acknowledging that it was true, they both signed it.

The prisoner was then confronted with James de Pluviers, Esq., of St. Michael.

The oath idem, &c.

The prisoner was then confronted with Jérôme de la Robye, equerry to the king.

The oath idem, &c.

The prisoner was then confronted with Gamaliel Edovart, one of the king's footmen.

The oath idem, &c.

The prisoner said that he knew him to be one of the king's footmen, but that he did not know if he was the person who seized him after he committed the act; and being put in mind of the ordinance, he said he had no objection to make to him.

The prisoner was then confronted with Peter Dubois.

The oath idem, &c.

The prisoner acknowledged that what he said was true; but that it was by his advice that the witness had been to hear mass at the convent of the Franciscan friars, at which he likewise was present.

They both signed their names.

May 27th, 1610, the Court sat in the afternoon in the Chamber de la Beuvette.

We the presidents, and several of the councillors being present, the prisoner, Francis Ravaillac, was brought into court, who having been accused and convicted of parricide committed on the person of the late king, he was ordered to kneel, and the clerk of the court pronounced the sentence of death given against him; as likewise that he should be put to the torture to force him to declare his accomplices.

His oath being taken, he was exhorted to redeem himself from the torments preparing for him, by acknowledging the truth, and declaring who those persons were that had persuaded, prompted, and abetted him, in that most wicked action, and to whom he had disclosed his intention of committing it.

He said, "By the salvation I hope for, no one but myself was concerned in this action."

He was then ordered to be put to the torture of the brodequin,* and the first wedge being driven, he cried out, "God have mercy upon my soul, and pardon the crime I have committed! I never disclosed my intention to any one." This he repeated as he had done in his interrogation.

* The brodequin is a strong wooden box, made in the form of a boot, just big enough to contain both the legs of the criminal, which being put therein, a wooden wedge is then driven with a mallet between his knees; and after that is forced quite through, a second wedge, of a larger size, is applied in the same manner.

When the second wedge was driven, he said with loud cries and shrieks, "I am a sinner; I know no more than I have declared, by the oath I have taken, and by the truth which I owe to God and the court: all I have said was to the little Franciscan, which I have already declared: I never mentioned my design in confession, or in any other way: I never spoke of it to the visitor of Angoulême, nor revealed it in confession in this city. I beseech the court not to drive my soul to despair."

The executioner continuing to drive the second wedge, he cried out, "My God, receive this penance as an expiation for the great crimes I have committed in this world. Oh God! accept these torments in satisfaction for my sins. By the faith I owe to God, I know no more than what I have declared. Oh! do not drive my soul to despair."

The third wedge was then driven lower near his feet, at which a universal sweat covered his body, and he fainted away. The executioner forced some wine into his mouth, but he could not swallow it; and, being quite speechless, he was released from the torture, and water thrown upon his face and hands. Some wine being forced down his throat, his speech returned, and he was laid upon a mattress in the same place, where he continued till noon. When he had recovered his strength, he was conducted to chapel by the executioner; and Messieurs Fillesasqs and Gamaches, two doctors of the Sorbonne, being sent for, his dinner was given him; but before the divines entered into a conference with him, the clerk admonished him to think of his salvation, and confess by whom he had been prompted, persuaded, and abetted in the wicked action he had committed, and so long designed to commit; it not being probable that he should of himself have conceived and executed it without communicating it to any other.

He said that if he had known more than what he had declared to the court, he would not have concealed it, well knowing, that in this case he could not have the mercy of God, which he hoped for and expected; and that he would not have endured the torments he had done if he had any further confession to make. He said he acknowledged that he had committed a great crime, to which he had been incited by the temptation of the devil; that he entreated the king,

the queen, the court, and the whole kingdom, to pardon him, and to cause prayers to be put up to God for him, that his body might bear the punishment for his soul. And being many times admonished to reveal the truth, he only repeated what he had said before. He was then left with the doctors, that they might perform the duties of their office with him.

A little after two o'clock the clerk of the court was sent for by the divines, who told him, that the condemned had charged them to send for him, that he might hear and sign his confession, which he desired might be revealed, and even printed, to the end that it might be known to the whole world; which confession the said doctors declared to have been, that no one had been concerned with him in the act he had committed; that he had not been solicited, prompted, or abetted, by any other person whatever, nor had discovered his design to any one; that he acknowledged he had committed a great crime, for which he hoped to have the mercy of God, which was still greater than his sins, but which he could not hope to obtain if he concealed anything.

Hereupon the clerk asked the condemned if he was willing that his confession should be known and revealed; and, as above, admonished him to acknowledge the truth for the salvation of his soul. He then declared, upon his oath, that he had said all he knew, and that no one had incited him to commit the murder.

At three o'clock he came from the chapel; and as he was being carried out of the Conciergerie, the prisoners, in great numbers, thronged about him, with loud cries and exclamations, calling him "Traitor!" "Wicked wretch!" "Detestable monster!" "Damned villain!" and the like; they would have struck him, had they not been hindered by the archers and the other officers of justice, who kept them off by force.

When he was put into the tumbril, the crowd was so great, that it was with the utmost difficulty the archers and officers of justice could force themselves a passage; and as soon as the prisoner appeared, that vast multitude began to cry out, as above, "Wicked wretch!" "Traitor!" &c.

The enraged populace continued their cries and execrations till he arrived at the Grève; where, before he was taken out of the tumbril to mount the scaffold, he was again exhorted to reveal his accomplices; but he persisted in his former de-

claration, that he had none; again imploring pardon of the young king, the queen, and the whole kingdom, for the crime he had committed.

When he had ascended the scaffold, the two doctors comforted him, and exhorted him to acknowledge the truth; and after performing the duties of their function, the clerk approached him, and urged him to think of his salvation now at the close of his life, and to confess all he knew; to which he only answered as he had done before.

The fire being put to his right hand, holding the knife with which he had stabbed the king, he cried out "Oh God!" and often repeated "Jesu Marie!" While his breast, &c., were tearing with red-hot pincers, he renewed his cries and prayers; during which, being often admonished to acknowledge the truth, he persisted in denying that he had any accomplices. The furious crowd continued to load him with execrations, crying, that he ought not to have a moment's respite. Afterwards, by intervals, melted lead and scalding oil were poured upon his wounds; during which he shrieked aloud, and continued his cries and exclamations.

The doctors again admonished him, as likewise the clerk, to confess, and were preparing to offer up publicly the usual prayers for the condemned; but immediately the people, with great tumult and disorder, cried out against it, saying that no prayers ought to be made for that wicked wretch, that damned monster. So that the doctors were obliged to give over. Then the clerk remonstrating to him, that the indignation of the people was a judgment upon him, which ought to induce him to declare the truth, he persisted to answer as formerly, saying, "I only was concerned in the murder."

He was then drawn by four horses, for half an hour, by intervals.

Being again questioned and admonished, he persisted in denying that he had any accomplices; while the people of all ranks and degrees, both near and at a distance, continued their exclamations in token of their great grief for the loss of their king. Several persons set themselves to pull the ropes with the utmost eagerness; and one of the noblesse, who was near the criminal, alighted off his horse, that it

might be put in the place of one which was tired with drawing him. At length, when he had been drawn for a full hour by the horses, without being dismembered, the people, rushing on in crowds, threw themselves upon him, and with swords, knives, sticks, and other weapons, they struck, tore, and mangled his limbs, and violently forcing them from the executioner, they dragged them through the streets with the utmost eagerness and rage, and burnt them in different parts of the city.

May 21st, 1610.

The gaoler caused the court to be informed that he had heard the prisoner say something of consequence; upon which he was sent for, and the oath being administered to him,

He said, That the even before, carrying the prisoner's supper to him, with one of his men, the two archers who guarded him being present, he asked the prisoner where he was when the king went out of the Louvre? To which the prisoner replied, that he was sitting in the hall among the footmen: and being again asked why he committed such an action, the prisoner answered, "Because of a great—— But I will not tell you; I will tell the court to-morrow; and I could not help doing it, as I shall prove by my body."

Then ——, archer of the Provost of the Hotel being sent for, the oath was administered to him.

He repeated what the gaoler had said, adding, that the prisoner said that his mother had a mark like his, for which reason he could not avoid doing what he did; and that, perceiving the king's coach to stop, he saw a vision, which said to him, "Now is the time."

Then was heard upon oath ——, archer, likewise of the Provost of the Hotel.

He also repeated what the gaoler had said, adding, that the prisoner said he was under the necessity of committing that action, by a mark which he and his mother had; that it came from heaven, and that he would declare it to the court, &c.

## Sentence of Death against Francis Ravaillac, May 28th, 1610.

(Extracted from the Registers of the Parliament.)

The court, consisting of the great chambers of the Tournelle and the Edict, being assembled, and having seen the criminal proceedings, formed by the presidents and councillors in that behalf, appointed by commission, at the requisition of the king's attorney-general, against Francis Ravaillac, a practitioner of the law, of the city of Angoulême, prisoner in the Conciergerie of the palace; as also the information made against him, the interrogatories, confessions, answers, and cross-examinations of witnesses, and the state of the case by the king's attorney-general; and the said Ravaillac having been heard and examined by the said court, touching the matters laid to his charge; and touching the verbal process of the interrogatories administrated to him on the rack; which, by order of the said court, he underwent on the 25th of this month, for discovery of his accomplices: On consideration of the whole,

The said court hath declared, and doth declare, the said Ravaillac duly attainted of the crime of high treason, divine and human, in the highest degree, for the most wicked, most abominable, and most detestable parricide, committed on the person of the late King Henry IV., of good and laudable memory; for reparation whereof, the court hath condemned, and doth condemn him, to make the *amende honorable* before the principal gate of the Church of Paris, whither he shall be carried and drawn in a tumbril in his shirt, bearing a lighted torch of two pounds weight, and that he shall there say and declare, that wickedly and traitorously he hath committed the aforesaid most wicked, most abominable, and most detestable parricide, and murdered the said lord the king, by stabbing him twice in the body with a knife; that he repents of the same, and begs pardon of God, the king, and the laws: from thence he shall be carried to the Grève, and, on a scaffold to be there erected, the flesh shall be torn to pieces with red-hot pincers from his breasts, his arms, and thighs, and the calves of his legs; his right hand, holding the knife wherewith he committed the aforesaid parricide, shall be

scorched and burned with flaming brimstone, and on the places where the flesh has been torn with pincers, melted lead, boiling oil, scalding pitch, with wax and brimstone melted together, shall be poured: after this, he shall be torn in pieces by four horses, his limbs and body burned to ashes, and dispersed in the air. His goods and chattels are also declared to be forfeited and confiscated to the king. And it is further ordained that the house in which he was born shall be pulled down to the ground (the owner thereof being previously indemnified), and that no other building shall ever hereafter be erected on the foundation thereof: and that within fifteen days after the publication of this present sentence, his father and mother shall by sound of trumpet and public proclamation in the city of Angoulême, be banished out of the kingdom, and forbid ever to return, under the penalty of being hanged and strangled, without any further form or process at law. The court has also forbidden, and doth forbid, his brothers, sisters, uncles, and others, from henceforth to bear the said name of Ravaillac, enjoining them to change it to some other, under the like penalties, and ordering the substitute of the king's attorney-general to cause this present sentence to be published and carried into execution, under pain of being answerable for the same; and before the execution thereof, the court doth order that the said Ravaillac shall again undergo the torture for the discovery of his accomplices.

Pronounced and executed the
27th day of May, 1610.

VOISIN.

(Extract from the Registers of Parliament.)

The court, consisting of the great chambers of the Tournelle and the Edict, being assembled, and proceeding to judgment on the criminal process extraordinary, formed at the requisition of the king's attorney-general, on account of the most wicked, most cruel, and most detestable parricide, committed on the sacred person of the late King Henry IV., and having thereupon heard the king's said attorney-general, hath ordered, and doth order, that, at the instance of the

dean and syndic of the faculty of divinity, the said faculty shall be assembled, as soon as may be, to deliberate; and having heard the tenor of the decree of the said faculty of the 13th of December, 1413, and the resolution founded on the opinion of one hundred and forty-one doctors of the said faculty, since confirmed by the Council of Constance; That it is not lawful for any one, whoever he be, to make any attempt on the sacred persons of kings and other sovereign princes. The said decree thereon to be made by the said assembly, shall be subscribed by all the doctors of the said faculty, who shall have been present at the deliberations; and also by all the bachelors who are members of the body of divinity; which said decree being communicated to the said attorney-general, and produced to this court, such order shall be made thereon as reason shall require.

Done in Parliament, the 27th May, 1610.

# APPENDIX.

LETTERS FROM HENRY IV. TO HIS MISTRESS, CORISANDE D'ANDOIN, AFTERWARDS COUNTESS OF GUICHE.

## LETTER I.

Bagnères, Sept. 12, 1570.

I HAVE nothing to write to you except that I have been here since yesterday, drinking the waters, which do me all possible good. M. de Montluc* is also here, who says he is more devoted to me than to any other man living. I govern him in all things. Apropos of this, I beg you will search in my little desk the letter he wrote to me, in which he tells me that he cannot continue the garrison of my company so near to me, since I employ it otherwise than for the king's service; he also mentions in the same letter, that he had learnt that, in the States held in Béarn, I had declared against the king.† Send me a copy of the letter, and take particular care of the original; for, before we part, he must make me some reparation for it. I entreat you to send it me by a careful person, and in all haste, because I may not again have a like opportunity. I shall act graciously, and with good humour; and both him and his will be still more my friends after it. I entreat you not to fail in this. I send you the mules and the . . . . to carry part of the furniture.

* Blaise de Montluc, Governor of Guienne.

† This letter was written just after the conclusion of a peace with the Protestants.

As soon as they shall be on their way back I will set out. I am busily engaged at Seméac. Recommend me to the little girl. I have sent to seek Master Amanin. Farewell.

## LETTER II.

Seméac, June 30, 1579.*

Thanks to God, I have at last recovered those places which had been occupied in this country by the thieves and robbers who had seized upon them; for, having an enterprise against Rançon, I sent yesterday to put it into execution, and, through God's favour, it succeeded to my wishes: the place was taken, the banditti dispersed, a part slain, and some made prisoners, so that this country is now free; on which account, after having spoken to M. de la Valette, I shall prepare more willingly to quit this place, for I have put the whole of this district in such security, that, for the future, they may, if they will, protect themselves, while I undertake what the said M. de la Valette shall think proper.

You may tell our neighbours of Bayonne and Dax of what is mentioned above, and say that I desired you to do it, in order that they may know I am not idle where I stay. I have sent the upholsterer to seek your wardrobes at Monréal; they will, I hope, be soon here, but I do not know whether it will be safe to send them by the way of Béarn, it will be less so the other way, therefore I will not despatch them till you are sure they will go safe; for, notwithstanding the passport you formerly had, our bullocks are still seized in Béarn, and I cannot recover them. This is all I can tell you. I shall set out on Friday to meet M. de la Valette at Aulx. From thence you shall hear from me.

P.S.—If Gabriel be not engaged, I could wish him to come hither to do what I want to have done. Pray send me word if he can come, for I will seek out for another.

* This letter alludes to events which took place immediately on the breaking out of hostilities in 1579. See vol. i. p. 115.

## LETTER III.

June 17 [1586?].*

One of your footmen is just arrived, who has been ten days a prisoner at Brouage; they have taken yours and my sister's letters from him; but St. Luc, fearing the manner in which he is sure I would be revenged for this, has sent them by one of his own people, who will not be here till this evening. The vessel in which the bearer of this came, sails in an hour, which is the reason of my sending him back, having detained Esprit for reasons which you will hear of presently. Yesterday I received intelligence from Germany. By the last of July, O.S., our army will be at Place-Montre, in France.

The horse-load of grain costs fifty livres in Champagne and Burgundy, and thirty at Paris; it is distressing to see how the people die of hunger. If you want a coach-horse there is one in my troop, exactly like your others, very handsome.

I arrived this evening from Marans, whither I had gone to provide for the safety of it—ah! how much I wished to have you there!—it is a place more suited to your disposition than any I have ever seen; it is an island surrounded by marshy groves, where at every hundred yards are canals on which to go a pleasuring in boats; the waters are clear and not rapid; the canals are of all breadths, the boats of all sizes; amidst these solitudes are a thousand gardens to which they go only by water. The island, thus environed, is two leagues in circumference; a river passes by the foot of the castle in the middle of the town, which is as convenient as Pau; there are few houses which have not a small boat at their door. This river divides itself into two branches, which bear not only large boats, but vessels of fifty tons burden come up it; it is only two leagues from the sea: indeed, it is rather a canal than a river; the larger vessels go up against the stream as high as Nyort, distant twelve leagues. There is an infinite number of insulated mills and farms. Here are all kinds of singing-birds; I send you the feathers of

* See vol. i. p. 164.

various species of sea-birds. Of fish there is here an immense quantity, large and cheap; a large carp for three sous, and a pike for five; it is a place of great trade, and all by means of boats; the country is full of grain, and very beautiful. Here one may live agreeably in peace, and in safety in war; enjoy those we love, or complain of their absence. Ah! this makes me very eloquent! On Tuesday, I set out for Pons, where I shall be nearer you, but I shall not make a long stay there. I think all my other footmen are dead; not one of them has returned. My soul, hold me in your good graces; believe my fidelity to be pure and unspotted; it never had its like. If this affords you gratification, live happily, your slave adores you. I kiss, my heart, thy hands a thousand times.

## LETTER IV.

Du Mont, Dec. 8.

Monglas is just arrived; he hurries me more than any of the others, and for reasons which are greatly to be apprehended, and which must not be committed to paper; they will be told you. There has been no battle since that near Montargis. The Duke of Mayenne has returned to his government, and M. d'Aumale is gone home. Paris will neither receive the king's Switzers nor the Duke of Guise, who appeared before the suburbs. My mind is greatly distracted, and not without cause. See if Navaille's ransom cannot be moderated through your favour. I beseech you employ your influence in this for the love of Tach and me. The bearer of this goes by St. Sever, and will return the same way. Hold me in your favour, as one who will be faithful to you till death.

P.S.—I have two little tame boars, and two fawns; send me word if you will have them.

## LETTER V.

Montauban, Jan. 14.

There is not a footman, or at least very few, but what is searched, or the letters he carries opened. Seven or eight

gentlemen have arrived of those who were at the foreign army, who assure me (and it is true, for one of them is M. de Montluet, Rambouillet's brother, who was one of the deputies sent to treat) that there are not ten gentlemen who have promised not to bear arms. M. de Bouillon has not promised; in short, nothing is lost which may not be recovered with money. M. de Mayenne has done an action which will gain him little credit; he has stabbed Sacremore with a poniard as he asked for some reward for his services. I am informed that, not being willing to satisfy his demands, he was afraid that, through discontent, he would reveal all the secrets he knew, even the plot against the king's person, of which he was the principal. God is willing to destroy them by their own dissensions, for Sacremore was the most useful servant they possessed; he was buried before he was quite dead. As I write, Morlants and a footman from my cousin* have arrived, who have been plundered of both their clothes and letters. M. de Turenne will be here to-morrow. He has taken, in three days, eighteen strongholds about Syjac. If it please God, I shall perhaps soon do something better. The report of my death spreading to Pau, thence to Meaux, reached Paris, where some of the priests, in their sermons, set it forth as one of the blessings which God had promised them! I kiss thy hands a thousand times.

## LETTER VI.

Jan. 12.

Yesterday Pichery returned with a short letter from you, and tells me another was taken from him; both were opened: take care what you write to me. Yesterday, also, came a man to me from Paris, who has given me full information of everything. The king is arrived there greatly applauded by the lower orders, who exclaimed aloud that the Leaguers did nothing but threaten, but that the king had driven away the foreigners.† The queen-mother did not seem rejoiced at his arrival; nay, she says everywhere that the Duke of Guise

* The Prince of Condé.

† This and the preceding letter seem to allude to the defeat of the German auxiliaries in 1587. See vol. i. p. 187.

would have defeated them without the king. There are some circumstances which I cannot write, having lost the cypher used between you and me. Neither Guitry nor Clervaut* would sign the capitulation, answering that they would sooner lose their possessions than fail in their duty to their master. They are at Geneva; I shall have them with me immediately. The capitulation consists of three articles; those who are willing to obey the edict may live freely at their homes; those who will not, but who will promise not to bear arms, may enjoy their property in a foreign country; and those who will do neither, are to be conveyed in safety out of the kingdom. Tignonville† will be here to-morrow. No army is yet advancing against us. My life, hold me ever in your favour, and be assured of my fidelity, which is inviolable. I kiss thy hands a thousand times, and also thy little sister.

## LETTER VII.

Feb. 23.

You do not find the roads dangerous, to afford pleasure to the least of your friends; but if I write to you to gratify me with your presence, the roads are too dangerous: these are the testimonies of the part I occupy in your good graces. I write the letter you desired to Meryteyn, and send it you open: I think it will displease her; but I like your favour better than hers. I had blockaded Le Masdagenes, but did not bring up the artillery, as I was apprehensive the marshal's army might oblige me to retire in haste, the grand prior of Toulouse having joined him with the army of Languedoc. I am just going to mount, with three hundred gentlemen, and I shall advance to the head of their army; it is a great chance if I do not perform some exploit. I conclude under an idea that you certainly do not wish me well. It is in your power to inspire me with such opinions as you please. I kiss your hands a thousand times.

* These were the two agents sent to attend the German troops.
† See vol. i. p. 104.

## LETTER VIII.

March 1.

I have received a letter from you, my M——, in which you tell me you do not wish me ill, but that you cannot assure yourself of so changeable a creature as I am. The first afforded me great pleasure; but you are greatly to blame in entertaining those doubts you express. What action of mine have you known to be variable—I mean in what relates to you? I have always continued fixed in the love and service I vowed to you, God is my witness. . . . . Yesterday the marshal and the grand prior offered us battle, well knowing that I had disbanded my troops: it was at the top of the vineyards, on the side of Agen. Their force was five hundred horse, and near three thousand infantry. After being five hours in drawing up their troops, which after all were sufficiently confused, they advanced, resolved to drive us into the ditches of the town, which indeed they ought to have done, for all their infantry was in motion. We received them at the furthest wall of my vineyard, and retired gradually, but always skirmishing, till within a hundred yards of the town, where our main body was, amounting to about three hundred arquebusiers. Here the enemy retired to where they first began the attack. It was the most desperate skirmish I ever witnessed, and produced the least effect, for there were only three soldiers of my guard wounded, and two of them but slightly. Two of the enemy were left dead amongst us, of which we took the spoil; others we saw them carry off with them, together with a great number of their wounded. My life, hold me in your favour; it is what I most desire in this world, which I confirm by kissing your hands a thousand times.

## LETTER IX.

[1588.*]

To complete my misery, one of the greatest misfortunes I could have apprehended has befallen me: this is the sudden

* See vol. i. p. 187.

death of the prince. I regret him as what he would have been to me, not what he was. I am now the mark against which is directed all the perfidy of the Mass. The traitors have poisoned him; through God's permission, I will take vengeance on them. This poor prince (not indeed in heart) having on Thursday run at the ring, supped in good health. At midnight he was seized with a violent vomiting, which continued till the morning. He kept his bed all the Friday: in the evening he eat his supper, and having slept well during the night, rose on the Saturday morning. He sat up at dinner, and afterwards played at chess; after which he rose from his seat, and began to walk across the room, conversing with those about him; all on a sudden he exclaimed, "Give me a chair; I feel myself extremely weak." He was no sooner seated than he became speechless, and shortly after expired in his chair. The marks of poison suddenly showed themselves. It is impossible to conceive the astonishment which this has occasioned hereabouts.* I shall set out by daybreak to examine this business. I foresee much trouble is coming upon me. Entreat God fervently for me: if I escape it, it must be Him who hath guarded me even to the grave, to which I am perhaps nearer than I imagine. I will remain ever your faithful slave. Good night, my life. I kiss thy hands a thousand times.

## LETTER X.

Nerac, March 8, at Midnight.

God knows with what regret I quit this place without going to kiss your hands; indeed, my life, I am confined to my bed with sickness. You will be surprised (and say I have not been deceived) at what Lyceran will tell you. The devil is unchained. I am to be pitied; and it is wonderful that I do not sink under my afflictions. If I were not a Huguenot I would turn Turk. Oh, by what violent trials do they put my brain to the test! I cannot fail soon of becoming either a fool or a wise man: this year will try me tho-

* The king appears to have been at this time about Bergerac. See vol. i. p. 187.

roughly. How grievous are domestic evils! All the troubles which can afflict a mind are continually exercised upon mine. I say everything at once. Pity me, my life, and do not add your kind of torment; it is what I dread most. On Friday I set off for Clayrac. I will remember your advice, namely, to be silent. Believe me, nothing but a want of friendship will ever make me change the resolution I have taken, to be eternally yours. Love me, my all; your favour is the consolation of my soul in the midst of afflictions; do not refuse me this support. Good night, my life. I kiss thy hands, &c.

## LETTER XI.

Aynset, March 13.

Yesterday two messengers came to me from St. Jean d'Angely; the one in the afternoon, the other in the evening. The former relates that Belcastle, page to the princess, and her valet, suddenly fled after they saw their master dead, having found two horses, worth two hundred crowns, at an inn in the suburbs, which had been kept there for fifteen days before, on each of which was a bag of money. Enquis, the master of the inn, says a person named Brillant sent the horses thither, and came every day to see they were well taken care of, saying that if he gave four measures of corn to the other horses he should give eight to these, and that he would pay him for the double quantity. This Brillant is a man whom the princess had taken into her house, and given to him the entire government of it. He was immediately seized, confessed that he had given a thousand crowns to the page, and bought these horses by command of his mistress to go into Italy. This story is confirmed by the second messenger, who adds further, that this Brillant had been made to write a letter to the valet, who was known to be at Poictiers, in which he desired him to come about two hundred yards outside the gate, as he wanted to speak with him. He accordingly came immediately, and was seized by an ambuscade placed there, and brought to St. Jean d'Angely. He has not yet been examined; but he often said to those who brought him, "Ah! the princess is a bad woman! Let them seize the prince's tailor. I will disclose everything

without being forced to it;" which was done. This is all that is yet known. Recollect what I formerly told you; my judgment seldom deceives me: "A bad woman is a very dangerous creature." All these poisoners are Papists. These are the lady's instructions. I have discovered an assassin designed against me. God will protect me; and I will tell you more about it presently. The governor and officers of Taylebourg have sent two soldiers to me, and write that they will deliver up the place to no one but myself, which affords me great satisfaction. They are hard pressed by the enemy; but they are so anxious to keep their word with me that they are not discouraged by it. No one is suffered to quit St. Jean but those they send to me. M. de la Trémouille is there with only nineteen followers. They send me word that if I make much delay it may be attended with bad consequences; this makes me hasten, so that I shall take twenty troopers, and travel thither day and night, in order to return to St. Foix, to the assembly. My life, I am very well in health, but in much affliction. Love me, and give me proofs that you do so; this will be a great consolation to me. I will not fail in the fidelity I have sworn to you, and in saying this I kiss your hands a thousand times.

## LETTER XII.

March 15.

Yesterday I wrote to you all that I knew; news has since arrived from the court. The Duke of Epernon has quarrelled with Marshal d'Aumont, and his brother with Crillon.* Their dispute is so violent that they cannot be reconciled. The king's authority will be interposed in the affair. However, the League is in a great ferment; this affords us a little ease. I shall be at St. Jean by Thursday, from whence I will send you all the news. I have travelled two leagues today, all in the enemy's country. Good day, my life! be assured of the fidelity of your slave; he will never deceive you; he kisses your hands a thousand times.

* The colonel of the French Guards.

## LETTER XIII.

March 21.

On my arrival at Taylebourg, I found that Lavardin had taken the island of Marants with his army, which consists of four or five thousand men, and that nothing held out but the castle, which he was battering with two pieces of cannon. I set out immediately for this place from Rochelle, to endeavour to succour the place and assemble my troops, which I reckon will be sufficiently strong to give Lavardin a check. All I fear is, that the castle is not well furnished with provisions, and that it will be surrendered from their hearing nothing of me. I have taken one of the forts, and am employed day and night in constructing bridges, for the water is very high in the marshes. Yesterday two Albanois were killed, and two made prisoners, who came to reconnoitre our bridge. I have only slept an hour since I arrived here, being always on horseback. My life! hold me always in your good graces; and never entertain a doubt of my fidelity. Let me hear often from you. Adieu, my heart! your slave kisses your hands.

## LETTER XIV.

Lusignan, May 20 [1588].

Sickness has broken out so much amongst our troops, that it will compel us to quit the field sooner than our enemies could have done. I am just on the point of procuring you an ambling horse, the handsomest you ever saw, and the best; he has a great many beautiful specks on him. Bonière is gone to Poictiers to buy you some lutestrings; he will return this evening. Yesterday I had news from the court. The Duke of Guise is still there. The Prince of Parma has been compelled by the English to raise the siege of a town he had invested.* The battle was very severe; there fell two thousand five hundred men, one thousand five hundred of which were native Spaniards, twenty-two of these are captains; the rest are Englishmen. I am not very well, and

* Probably the siege of Graves is here meant. See Bentivoglio, book iv. part ii.

am much afraid of falling sick. Marshal Biron does everything in his power to assemble his forces; he will not be able to compel us to quit the field, unless he receive succours from France or Gascony. My heart! remember always Petiot; certainly his fidelity is a miracle. He wishes for you a thousand times in the day in the avenues of Lyranuse. You will consider whether he shall send you Rosambeau, to keep you from *ennui*. That place must be wild, indeed, where you two would be dull, when together. Those whom we sought yesterday are gone; they have not yet escaped. Farewell, my heart! I kiss thy hands a thousand times. Love me better than yourself.

## LETTER XV.

Montguyon, June 25.

I came hither in hopes of striking some blow against our enemies; but the weather has been so tempestuous, that it has disconcerted all our plans. I return to-night to sleep at Barbezieux, and to-morrow to Pons. You will gratify me by going to Pau. Ah, my dear, what would I give to be able to go thither! Such a pleasure is inestimable. I send you the copies of the letters which the Queen of England wrote to the king and queen, on the peace of the League. You will discover in them a noble language and a pleasing style. My heart! I cannot write a longer letter, as I am just going to mount my horse. Good day, my life! I kiss thy hands, &c.

## LETTER XVI.

October 21.

God has done more than man could expect—certainly more than I could have expected, as you will see by the letter I wrote you yesterday. He sent us a tempestuous season which astonished every one; but, on the other hand, he rendered valiant those who were sick, and increased the astonishment of the weak-hearted; so that in the evening, after I had invoked him, he inspired me with the resolution to summon them at ten o'clock at night, against all military order, having during the day discharged fifty shot without

any effect. At the first sound of the trumpet they came to a parley, and the treaty was so speedily made, that they surrendered at ten o'clock; and through God's special favour, I am now within the place. It is a strong place, and of great importance. On Monday I believe we shall make the grand attempt; therefore, I will say, with David, "He who hath thus far given me the victory over mine enemies, will also make this affair easy." So may it happen through His goodness! My heart! I am a better man than you reckon me. Your last packet will teach me again that speed in writing which I had lost. Every night I read your letter; if I am in love with it, what must I be with her from whom it comes? Never had I so great a desire to see you as I have at present. If the enemy does not press hard upon us after this assembly, I will steal a month. Send me Lyceran, under colour of his going to Paris. There is still a thousand things which cannot be written. Ah, my life! thou art made for me! For God's sake, do as your letter says. Is it possible, that, with so gentle an edge, I have cut the thread of your caprice? I would fain think so. I beseech you to forget all your hatred to every person about me; it is one of the first changes I wish to see in you. Neither fear nor believe that anything can ever diminish my love. It is more ardent now than ever. Good night, my heart! I am going to sleep, my mind being freer from care than it has been these twenty days. I kiss thy beauteous eyes a thousand times.

## LETTER XVII.

Nov. 30.

Send me back Brisquières, and he shall return with everything you want, except myself. I am greatly afflicted at the loss of my little one,* who died yesterday; he was just beginning to talk. . . . . The enemy is before Montaigu, where they will be well drenched, for there is no shelter for a league round. The assembly will break up in ten days. Yesterday a great deal of intelligence reached me from Blois. I send you an extract of the most authentic. A man is this

* This was a son he had by Corisande d'Andoin.

instant arrived from Montaigu. They have made a bold sortie, and killed a great number of the enemy. I am sending all my troops thither, and hope, if the place can hold out fifteen days, to strike a blow there. What I wrote to you of not wishing ill to any person, is requisite both for your own peace and mine. I am speaking to you now as being wholly mine. My life! I have a strange desire to see you. Here is a man who is the bearer of letters from the King of Scotland to my sister; he presses me more than ever about the marriage; he offers to send me six thousand men at his own expense, and to come himself to serve me. He will most undoubtedly be King of England. Prepare my sister beforehand to accept his offers favourably, by pointing out to her again our present situation, and the greatness of this prince, as well as his virtues. I have not written to her about it. Introduce the subject in the course of conversation, by observing that it is time she should be married, and that there is no other match to be expected for her but this; for as to our relations, it is a hopeless matter. Farewell, my heart! I kiss thee a hundred thousand times.*

## LETTER XVIII.

Dec. 20.

My life! the messenger who returned to me yesterday was seized near Montgaillard, and carried to M. Poyanne, who asked him if he had any letters; he said he had one which you had written to me. He took it, opened and read it, and

* The contents of this letter, as far as they relate to the King of Scotland, are curious from the circumstance of their being at variance with what is said by our historians respecting the proposed union between James and Henry's sister. Cambden and Robertson say it was the wish rather of Elizabeth than of James, and that the queen's object was to prevent his marriage with Anne of Denmark. But, if any attention is to be paid to what is mentioned above, both these opinions are erroneous; for James seems most anxiously to have desired the match, and it would probably have taken place, had not the Princess Catherine been averse to it. The offer of sending succours to Henry, and of coming himself to serve him, is particularly deserving of notice, because it is even a "a wider deviation from James's general character," than his gallant voyage to Denmark to bring home his bride. (See Robertson's History of Scotland.)

then returned it to the bearer. M. de Plessis is arrived, and the rest of my troop from Nérac. I will travel in such wise to visit you, as to have nothing to fear from the garrison of St. Sever. There is also a person coming from the foreign army, which is at Casteljaloux; he will be here this morning. I will bring you all the news, and the power of emptying all the strongholds. On Sunday there was a fine charge made near Moneurt, which is well worth being known. The governor, with three cuirassiers and ten horse arquebusiers, fell in with the lieutenant De la Brunière, governor of the Masdagenois, who had twenty-four horsemen with him, half of them arquebusiers also; our governor, seeing his party so weak, and as if lost, said to his companions, "We must either kill them, or perish ourselves;" and immediately charged so desperately, that they killed the lieutenant and two of his company, took other two prisoners, routed the rest, and gained five large horses, and all those of the arquebusiers, having only one man wounded. I have a great number of despatches to write to-night; the messengers will set off to-morrow noon, as I shall also do, to go and kiss your hands. Good day, my sovereign good.

## LETTER XIX.

Dec. 22.

You would think me solaced by having retired into our garrisons. Truly, if another assembly were to be held, I should become a fool. Thank God, everything is finished well. I am going to St. Jean to assemble our troops, in order to pay a visit to the Duke of Nevers, and perhaps shall occasion him a signal displeasure, not in his person, but in his post. You will hear of it presently. Everything is in the hand of God, who has always blessed all my labours; through His favour I am in good health, having nothing on my heart but a desire to see you; I know not when I shall be so happy. If an opportunity present, I will show that I know how to take advantage of it. I will not entreat you to love me, as you have done it so entirely that there is no need of that. There are two things of which I can never doubt—you, my love and its inviolability. I expect Lyceran; good friends are rarely to be found. At how high a

price would I purchase three hours' conversation with you! Good night, my life! I wish I were in the corner of your chimney, warming your pottage. I kiss you a thousand times.

## LETTER XX.

New Year's-day [1589].

Shall I never have anything else to write to you but the surrender of towns and strongholds? This night St. Maixant and Maillesaye surrendered to me, and before the end of this month I trust you will hear me spoken of. The king is triumphant; he has thrown the Cardinal de Guise into prison;* he showed him publicly for twenty-four hours. The President de Neuilly and the Provost des Marchands have been hanged, together with the secretary of the late Duke of Guise, and three others. "My son," said the queen-mother to his majesty, "grant me a request I wish to make you." "That depends upon the purport of it," was his answer. "It is to grant me M. de Nemours and the Prince of Guise; they are both young, and will one day do you service." "With all my heart, madam," said he; "I give you their bodies, but I will keep their heads to myself." He has sent to Lyons to seize the Duke de Mayenne; it is not yet known whether he has succeeded. They are all at loggerheads at Orleans, and still nearer here—at Poictiers, of which I shall be within seven leagues to-morrow. If the king would permit me, I would reconcile them. I pity you if you have such weather as it is here; it has froze for these last ten days. I am in hourly expectation of hearing they have sent to strangle the late Queen of N——;† this, with the death of her mother, would make me sing the song of Simeon. What a long letter is here for a warrior! Good night, my life. I kiss thee a hundred million times. Love me, as you have reason to do.

* See vol. i. p. 194. † Margaret of Valois.

## LETTER XXI.

[La Mothe-Frelon, Jan., 1589.*]

It was impossible to send Jere, on account of my illness, from which, through God's help, I am now recovering. You will presently hear of me in as honourable terms as in the affair of Niort. . . . . I can hardly write. Indeed, my heart, I have seen the heavens open, but I was not a good enough man to enter there. It is God's will still to make me His instrument. Twice in the twenty-four hours I was so reduced, that they were obliged to turn me by the help of my sheets. I would have excited your pity: had I continued in this state two hours longer, the worms would have had a plentiful feast of my body. As I write, a man is arrived with news from Blois; two thousand five hundred men, which marched out of Paris, under the command of Saint-Pol, to succour Orleans, have been cut to pieces by the king's troops; it is therefore believed that Orleans will be taken by his majesty in twelve days. The Duke of Mayenne seems not to be much alarmed: he is in Burgundy. I conclude, as I find myself ill. Good day, my life.

## LETTER XXII.

Montbazon, March 8 [1589].†

My life! God continues his blessings upon me. Since the capture of Châtellerault, I have taken the Isle of Bouchart, a passage upon La Vienne and La Creuse; it is a fine town, and may be easily fortified. We are at Montbazon, six leagues from Tours, where the king is. His army is encamped within two leagues of ours, without our requiring anything of each other: our soldiers meet and embrace each other instead of fighting, though there is neither truce, nor orders to this effect. Many of the king's people come over to me, but none of mine are willing to change masters. I believe his majesty will employ me, for he is indisposed, and his loss is a bad omen for us. I am going to Châtellerault to seize some houses that are in rebellion. Tell Castille to take

* See vol. i. p. 197. † Ibid. p. 190.

the field as soon as possible. This is the moment in which all my servants must do wonders; for, from natural causes, April or May will prepare the ruin of one or other of the parties—it will not be mine, since it is God's. My life! the greatest grief at my heart is my being so far from you, and that I can only testify in writing the love which I have, and always will have for you.

I entreat you to send me your son.*

## LETTER XXIII.

Châtellerault, March 18.

My heart! I have made an eight days' journey towards Berry, where I have not been useless, having taken, as if by miracle, the castle of Argenton, a stronger place than Leytour, defeated a troop of fifty chosen men of the League, who were marching to its relief, compelled upwards of three hundred gentlemen of the League, some to join me, others to promise not to stir from their homes, of whom I have taken pledges, and others not to stir under pain of having their houses seized. I have also taken Le Blanc, in Berry, and ten or twelve other strongholds; these bring in about 100,000 crowns annually. I am in very good health, thank God, and love nothing on earth but thee!—I have received your letter, but I have scarcely had time to read it. Good night, my life! I kiss thee a million times.

## LETTER XXIV.

Boisjancy, May 21.

You will learn from the bearer of this the happy success which God has granted us in one of the most desperate engagements that has taken place in this war.† He will tell you also how MM. Longueville, la Nouë, and others have triumphed near Paris. If the king uses despatch, as I hope he will, we shall soon be in sight of the spires of Notre Dame.

* See vol. i. p. 137.

† This took place near Chartres. See vol. i. p. 204.

I wrote to you only two days since, by Little John. God grant that we may do something this week as great as we did the last. My life, love me ever! Farewell, my life!

## LETTER XXV.

Camp before Pontoise, July 14.

I expect your son, who is at no great distance. What he has to accomplish is full of danger. He will bring with him some troops which are marching to join me. We are before Pontoise,* which I do not think we shall take. It has been attacked against my consent;—the old ones carried the point. I think they were all dreaming. Hautefort was slain yesterday; his death is a great loss to the League. The enemy and us have been skirmishing the whole day—the river between us—their troops are not equal to ours, either in numbers or goodness. Isle-Adam has also surrendered, which is a bridge over the river Oise; I shall fix my quarters there to-morrow; there will then be no longer any water between the Duke of Mayenne and me: he is at St. Denis. We shall in six days join the Swiss, who are conducted by Longueville and La Nouë. Though we are day and night on horseback, yet we find this war less fatiguing—the reason is, the mind is more at ease in it. The day before yesterday I passed my troops in review before the king, as he went over the bridge of Poissy. There were twelve hundred horse, and four thousand arquebusiers.

My life! I am sorely displeased when I find you entertain doubts of me; through spite, I will not endeavour to remove them. You are greatly to be blamed, for I swear to you I never loved you more ardently than I do at this moment; and I would sooner die than forfeit the promises I have made you. Believe this, and live in confidence of my fidelity. Good night, my life! A million kisses.

* See vol. i. p. 206.

## LETTER XXVI.

Trenches near Arques, Sept. 9.*

My heart! it is wonderful how I support the labour I undergo: God hath pity upon me, and grants me his favour; blessing, as he does, my labours, in spite of many, I am in good health, and my affairs prosper, contrary to the expectations of a great number of people. Yesterday I took Eu; the enemy, who is now double my numbers, thought to catch me. Having completed my enterprise, I have approached near to Dieppe, and am waiting for them in a camp which I am fortifying. I shall see them to-morrow, and hope with the help of my God, that if they attack me, they will come off with the worst. The bearer goes by sea. The wind and my affairs compel me to conclude, with kissing you a million times.

## LETTER XXVII.

Falaise, Jan. 8 [1590].

My life! since the departure of Lycerace, I have taken the towns of Seez, Argentan, and Falaise, where I caught Brissac and all the succours he had brought for Normandy. I set out to-morrow to the attack of Lisieux, in my way to meet the Duke of Mayenne, who is besieging Pontoise.† Since Lycerace's departure my troops have increased upwards of six hundred gentlemen and two thousand infantry, so that, through God's favour, I fear nothing from the League. I have received the Sacrament to-night, a ceremony which, a year since, I little thought of being able to perform in Normandy. I shall in the course of three days send you one of my footmen by sea, on whose shores I now am. Certainly I make good progress, and go as God conducts me, for I never know what I shall do in the end; nevertheless my actions do miracles, so are they guided by the supreme Master. I love nothing but you, and in this resolution I will die, if you give me no cause for the contrary. God be

* See vol. i. p. 213. † Ibid. p. 221.

thanked, I am very well! and entirely at your service. Farewell, my heart—a thousand kisses.

As I finished this letter, the inhabitants of Bayeux brought me the keys—it is a fine town.

## LETTER XXVIII.

Lisieux, Jan. 16.

My heart! you have not condescended to write to me by Byçose. Do you think that you act rightly in behaving thus coldly? I leave this question to be answered by your own judgment. I was very happy to learn from him that your health is good: may God grant you a long continuance of it, and me a continuance of the blessings he has hitherto showered upon me. I have taken this place, though I did not fire a gun, except as a feint; within it were a thousand soldiers, and a hundred gentlemen; it is the strongest place I have reduced to my power, and the most useful, for I shall draw from it sixty thousand crowns. I live like a true Huguenot, for I entertain ten thousand foreigners, and keep my right by what I gain daily; and I will tell you that God so blesses me, that there is scarcely any sickness in my army, which increases daily. I was never in such good health, nor ever loved you more ardently than at this moment. On the truth of this, I kiss thee, my life, a million times.

## LETTER XXIX.

Jan. 29.

My heart! I have carried my conquests to the borders of the ocean. May God bless my return as he has done my advance; it will be through his favour, for to him I assign all the good fortune that befals me. I trust you will soon hear of some of my exploits; may God grant me his favour in them. The legate, the Spanish ambassador, the Duke of Mayenne, the whole of the chiefs of the enemy, are assembled at Paris; my ears ought to tingle, for they talk a great deal about me. Yesterday I received some of your letters

by De Revignan. I was very glad to hear you are well; for myself, I am in good health, and love you more than ever.

Good night, my life; I shall sleep longer to-night than I have done these seven nights. A thousand kisses.

## LETTER XXX.

Before Vendôme.

My life! be under no apprehension that I do not take care of myself; but my chief trust is in God, who, through his favour, will protect me. Your son will be here to-night, completely recovered. We are before Vendôme, which I hope to take to-morrow; and I am desirous to clear the environs of Tours before I repair thither. The schemes which are everywhere formed are incredible. I say within myself the devil is unchained, but God will be above all; consequently my affairs will go on well, for in him is all my trust. Be ever assured of my fidelity—it is inviolable. Good day, my life; I am going to the trenches; I kiss thee a million times. Our German horse have entered Champagne to the number of 3000, with 5000 foot, for the great levy will not arrive till June. In the course of two days I shall send Marshal d'Aumont to employ them in Lorraine, until, after I have completed my work at Tours, I can join them, which will be in December. I think I can assure you I shall be in Paris by the end of January. Farewell.

## LETTER XXXI.

Chelles, May 13.

My life, I beseech you to excuse me if, in case M. de Turenne should unhappily die, I do not bestow on your son the post you have asked for him; it is not a proper one, and besides, it would make him useless; for, from the moment they undertake this employment, it is so slothful a one, that it is the ruin of young men. You have given him to me; let me bring him up as I like, and be you under no anxiety about him. I shall take such care of him that you shall know how much I love him for your sake. I have spoken to Labasse about him and your other affairs. I am angry

when you think I have nothing to do but to will; I protest to you, that since I have been King of Navarre, I have not experienced so much want as during this last year. I am before Paris, where God will aid me. By taking it I shall begin to feel the effects of the crown. I have taken the bridges of Charenton and St. Maur, by battering them, and hanged all I found there. Yesterday I carried the suburbs of Paris by storm.* The enemy's loss was great—ours but trifling; it is true, indeed, that La Nouë was wounded, but it will be nothing. I have burnt all their mills, as I have done in all the other parts. They are reduced to great want, and, if not relieved within twelve days, must surrender. I have sent for your son, as I think he will perform something great here; I keep Castille with me for eight days. I am in good health, thank God, and love you far more than you do me. God grant me peace, that I may enjoy a few years of rest!—indeed, I watch without ceasing. It is scarcely credible how many persons are employed about me to kill me; but God will defend me. I am very faithfully served; and I can tell you that the enemy will occasion me more harm than fear. With this assurance, my heart, I kiss thy hands, mouth, and eyes, a million times.

## LETTER XXXII.

July 15.

You will presently hear of me by Lavie, for whom I have done in your favour a thing which has given him satisfaction. Saint Denis and Dammartin have yielded. Paris is so closely blockaded that there must either be a battle this week, or a treaty for capitulation. On Monday the Spaniards will join the Great Duke; we will see whether he will have courage enough to fight. I lead your son daily to some skirmish or other.

Castille is enraged that his regiment does not arrive. Yesterday I saw some ladies who had quitted Paris; they told me a great deal about their sufferings. I am very well, thank God, and love nothing on this earth so dearly as you;

* See vol. i. p. 237.

this is what I trust you will never doubt of. On the truth of this, my life, I kiss thy beauteous eyes a thousand times, which I will through life esteem the dearest objects in this world.

## LETTER XXXIII.

[In 1590.]

My heart, since the departure of Maraval, nothing fresh has occurred, except that the remains of the Walloons have returned into Flanders, in spite of all the Duke of Mayenne's endeavours to stop them: the Reitres have done the same, after having been almost all plundered, even by their own party. The Legate is at this moment desirous of treating for a peace; he talks no longer about excommunication: believe me, I shall act with vigilance, and not suffer myself to be overreached. I am very well, thank God, and love you as much as you can desire. You would pity me, if you saw me, for I am so burdened with business that I absolutely sink under the weight of it. Love me as you would one who will never change his sentiments towards you. This is saying enough. I kiss thy beauteous eyes a million times.

## LETTER XXXIV.

Oct. 18.

I have received all you sent me, which I will keep as I ought. God knows with what joy I received your letter. Confess now, that you wish to afflict me. I have always loved you most unfeignedly, and that love was founded on yourself and your virtues; these two pillars united can never be overthrown. But let us quit this subject: the die is already cast, there ought to be no longer any doubts between us. I am in good bodily health; but my mind is ill at ease, having besieged a castle, at first by starving the garrison, but afterwards the weather frustrated my designs. Though your —— has told you I have been obliged to embark in it in good earnest, I have great doubts of the issue: the weather is much against me; and the enemy are using their utmost endeavours to collect their forces to over-

power me. You will soon know the result of it by the way of Marsan, since it is your desire. God, who hath always blessed my labours, will perhaps give me better success than I hope for; therefore visit my sister oftener than you have hitherto done. I know there is no danger in telling her everything; she will like you the better for it.

The Count of Soissons says his marriage with Mademoiselle —— is much spoken of. He denies having loved Essa, though, he says, she loved him. The States had not opened yesterday: their meeting is variously spoken of. Yesterday, fourteen of Bouillé's troopers, under his lieutenant, fell in with the best company of Mercœur's light horse, consisting of thirty lances, of which only three escaped. The greater part of ours were unarmed, not thinking the enemy were so near: their leader is taken. Of ours, —— is wounded, and eight gentlemen, but none of them mortally. In two days I shall send a messenger to you, and will be as careful to let you hear of me as I am to hear of you. I am going to the trenches. Farewell, my soul; I kiss thee a million times.

Since I wrote my letter, I have stayed two days at Arsac, in hopes of hearing something new.

## LETTER XXXV.

Camp before Amiens, Sept. 11, 1597.*

Madam,—I clearly discover that you have been on the other side of the mountains, where you were occupied in my service: I also know that your presence there was very necessary. Within these fifteen days the forces of France and Spain have been in sight of each other, and it was God's pleasure that these swaggerers should retire with shame. The cardinal came to relieve this place by stratagem, but he also has returned shamefully without doing anything. To-morrow we shall enter the place, and I shall then immediately take the field with my army, for the remainder of this month and the next. If God bless my efforts, as I hope and

* See vol. ii. p. 45. Corisande was now Countess of Guiche.

pray for, we will be in a condition to bid them defiance. As Grammont is no longer of any service yonder, I have ordered him hither; for he may still learn with me, and I naturally love him. I have a great desire to make a tour into Anjou and Brittany, to reduce the Duke of Mercœur to reason. Farewell, Madam. I kiss your hands.

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## LETTER XXXVI.*

My dear heart, yesterday evening I showed my wife your letter, and asked her advice what answer I should send you. I remarked her countenance particularly, to discover whether she betrayed any emotion as she read your letter, as I have seen her do at other times, when she heard you mentioned. She answered without any ill-will that I was master, and could do as I pleased; but that it seemed to her I ought to satisfy you in this. She was very merry all the remainder of the evening, and we talked of you at different times; and she told me that if the Princess of Conti had seen her read your letter, she would have been greatly grieved at it, for that she torments herself so much about everything, that she is not surprised she is so lean. Send your carriage, and what is necessary to bring them: on Wednesday they will be at Chaillot, as I did not wish they should stop in Paris, on account of the flux which is prevalent there. I shall send some of my gentlemen with them. The Duke of Mantua is coming to see me *incog.*, with forty post-horses: he will be here by the 21st. When we return to Paris I will send you word to return our *Marmots* to Saint Germain. Love me sincerely, my dear heart. I swear to you, you are as dear to me as ever. Good night! a million kisses.

* The five following Letters are to the Marchioness of Verneuil.

## LETTER XXXVII.

My dear heart, I was engaged the whole of yesterday in receiving the Duke of Mantua, who is certainly an excellent prince, and one of the most courteous in the world. On Tuesday, I think of carrying him to St. Germain. Our disturbers are very busy, and sound mè on all sides; these women are very wicked, but they possess no longer my wife's ear: she inquires after our son, and says she heard you were very ill. She has now for some time mentioned you without changing colour, for she betrays no emotion, and we have long talked of these discords. I am very well, thank God, and love you much better than you do me, for my love is not restrained or qualified as yours is. Good day, my all, a million kisses—I beseech you talk to me no more about tomorrow.

## LETTER XXXVIII.

My dear heart, it was not my devotions which prevented me from writing to you, for I do not think I do wrong in loving you more than anything in this world; the cause was, that on quitting the chapel I found myself so much indisposed, that I was obliged to go to bed almost half-dead; and to complete my misfortune, on Easter-day,* I touched two hundred and fifty sick persons;—yesterday I took some medicine, which seems not to have done me much service; for I have not slept any of these eight days, and my blood is so heated that I am in continual uneasiness. Tomorrow I will be bled. In the evening I will send you word how I am. I can tell you, you are my dear heart, which I kiss a million times.

## LETTER XXXIX.

When you refuse to do what I request of you, all your fine professions will not satisfy me; I find them always contrary to effects: it is not at this time only that I have conceived

* April 6, 1608.

this opinion; but your conduct and actions confirm me more and more in it. With respect to the Jubilee,* as it is general, you can just as well celebrate it with your chaplain as here. Good night. I kiss your hands.

## LETTER XL.

You say you no longer know what to do to give me satisfaction; and yet you have not even tried to do it, nor answered the first complaint contained in my letter. You have succeeded so badly in lording it over me, that you ought to have become wise. You threaten me with going to Verneuil: do as you please! If you do not love me, I can very well dispense with seeing you; if you say you love me, it is a very bad proof of it to depart when I arrive. By this action I shall know what you are. I shall be in Paris on Thursday, as ill-satisfied with you as ever, unless you change your style. On this truth I kiss your hands.

## LETTER XLI.

You are mistaken in your letter: for you say I am "your dear heart," and that you are not mine: I have never robbed you of anything, but you have deprived me of everything you could. This is a reason against which there is no answer; do not torture your mind to discover one; for it is better to remain silent than to utter a bad excuse. For me, I love you dearer than I do myself. I swear this to you, my love, but do you think to feed me with stones after having given me bread? Consider my age, my rank, my mind, and my affection, and you will do that which you do not. Good day, my all. A million kisses.

* Sept. 6, 1608.

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He was asked if he had had any discourse with any other friars?

He said not in this last journey.

If he had had any discourse with a Franciscan friar of Angoulême?

He said, Yes; but that he had not spoken to him of his enterprise and of his imaginations.

He was told that he did not say the truth; for that he had spoken to him of his imaginations, asking his opinion whether he, who had such imaginations, ought to declare them to his confessor.

To this he answered, that he had not spoken to a Franciscan of his own country, but to another whom he met near Bourg de la Royire, with whom he joined company; and, because he had no acquaintance in this city, he gave him part of his own lodgings, and carried letters from his friends to procure him admission into the convent: that he also carried his bundle for him; and that the name of this friar was Le Fébure.

It was observed to him that during the reading of his examination, when the wounds he had given the king were mentioned, he had asked pardon of God for that crime, but that the true means to obtain it was to acknowledge the truth; that his pretence for committing that action was so slight, that he must certainly have been prompted to it by some one who was concerned in the success of that miserable stroke of which we feel the effects.

He said that since he had been under confinement he had been urged by several persons to make this confession, and even by the Archbishop of Aix; but that he had been prompted by no person whatever, but by his own desires: and that, however he might be tormented, he should never say anything else: that, if torments could have forced him to confess, he had suffered sufficiently by the torture which a Huguenot, of his own private authority, gave him, when he kept him prisoner at the Hôtel de Retz, by which he had the bone of his thumb broken.

He was told that he had been chosen to commit this action as a proper instrument of mischief; he whose whole life had

been wicked, and who had begun with using a father and a mother ill, and reducing them to beggary.

He said that it would not be found so, and that his father and mother, who were still living, would witness the contrary, as well as the people where he dwelt; that he had been indeed accused and condemned for it, but it was by false witnesses, for he was innocent.

He was asked when he was at Brussels?

He said that he was never out of the kingdom, and that he did not know where Brussels is.

This examination being read to the said Ravaillac, he persisted in his answers, and signed his name

RAVAILLAC.

The Examination taken next morning, at the Palace, by us the Commissioners, the First President being sick.

The prisoner being sent for as before, and his oath taken,

He was asked what was his rank and condition, and if he had a father or a mother alive?

He said that he is a practitioner of the law, and that, before his confinement, he employed himself in instructing youth; and that his father is likewise a practitioner of the law, and that his mother is separated from his father.

We having again ordered his examination to be read to him, he persisted in his answers, without adding or diminishing anything, except only that he omitted saying, as he did now, that he had been carried to the commission of that crime because the king would not permit justice to be done upon the Huguenots for the attempt they made last Christmas to murder all the Catholics, for which attempt many of the Huguenots had been taken prisoners and brought into this city, yet, he had been told by several persons, were not punished.

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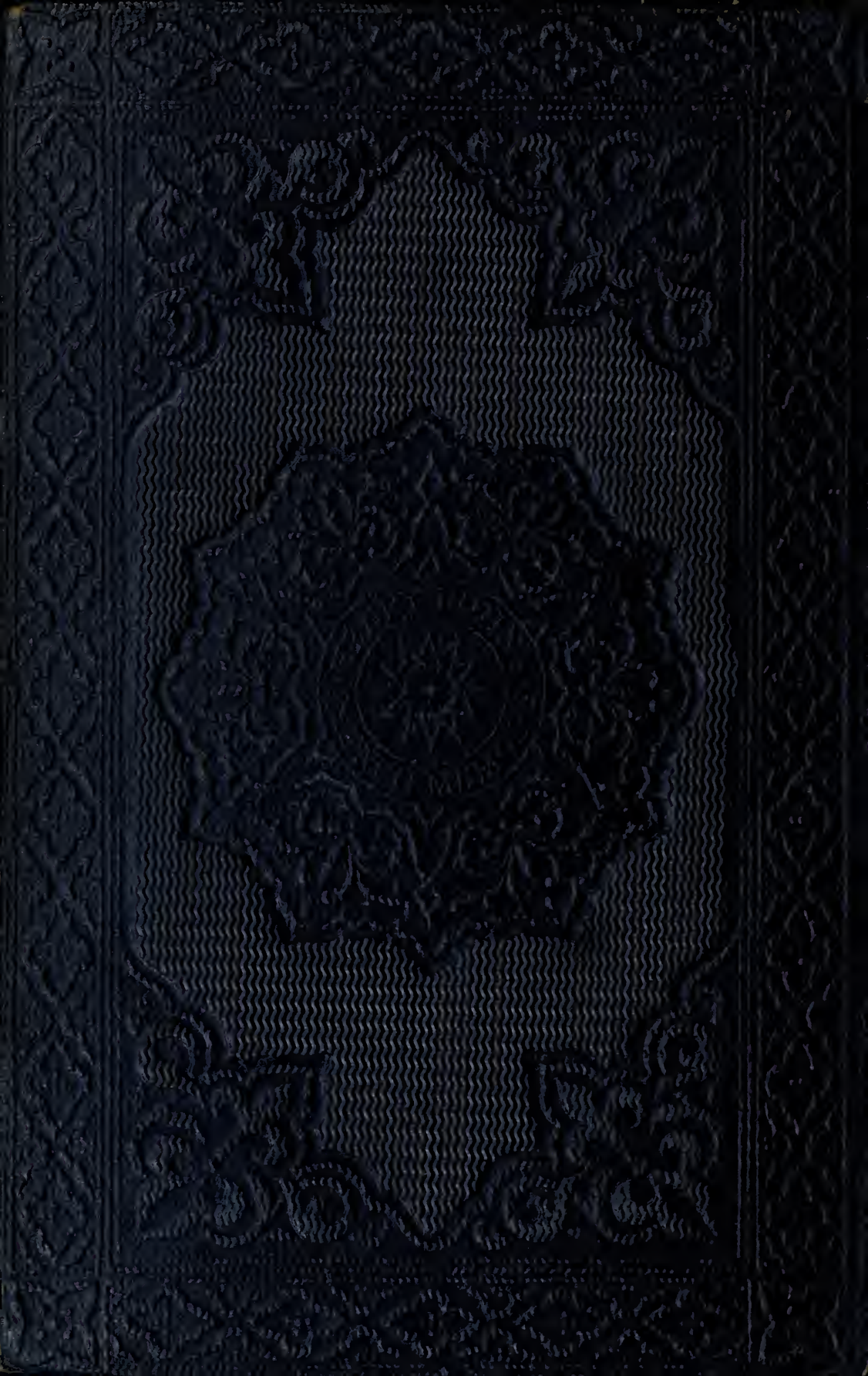
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